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Photo Franz Hanfstaengl,

MARY STUART.

From a Contemporary portrait in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire. Painter unknown.

THE FALL OF MARY STUART:

A NARRATIVE IN CONTEMPORARY LETTERS

BY

FRANK ARTHUR MUMBY

Fellow of the Royal Historical Society

AUTHOR OF "THE YOUTH OF HENRY VIII.," "THE GIRLHOOD OF QUEEN ELIZABETH," "ELIZABETH AND MARY STUART," ETC.

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PREFACE

Difficult as was my earlier attempt to steer an undisputed course through the labyrinth of contemporary correspondence relating to the beginning of the feud between Elizabeth and Mary Stuart, it was simplicity itself in comparison with the present task. If I have not succeeded in avoiding all the snares and pitfalls, I can at least claim that in re-stating the case in my own way I have set down naught in malice, and added nothing to the mass of unsupported theories and legends which have confused the issue for centuries past. It is like looking on with living eyes at the drama of Mary Stuart to allow all the leading actors, for once, to speak to the audience themselves. Some useful purpose should be served in thus bringing together for a new generation, from many scattered and, for the majority of readers, unavailable sources, the vital correspondence of Mary's tragic years, from her marriage with Darnley to her fatal flight into England. "Whoever corrects the relations of history by the private letters of those who were the actors of the times," as Sir John Dalrymple has written, "will learn at every step, as he advances, to distrust the prejudices of others, and his own." That has certainly been my own experience. When one gets down to the sources of history, one discovers how tainted is much of the evidence on which some of our most merciless verdicts have been passed. In the present volume, as in its companions, will be found the very pith of the

material on which the historian bases his arguments. Just as the verbatim report of some *cause célèbre* is often more vivid than the purple patches of the most brilliant descriptive writer, so is the personal evidence of the men and women who made history, uttered at the time and without thought of publication, more realistic, and frequently more eloquent, than anything that has been said by later historians. The difficulty is to select the right material. It is easy, of course, to dive into archives and fill a whole library with historical letters, and still succeed only in covering oneself and one's readers in dust. Every student of the period will probably be able to suggest other letters that might have been included in this volume, but perhaps I may be permitted to urge that what has been said of the artist might also be applied to my humble labours—"that his merit is marked as much by what he leaves out as by what he puts in."

The feminine interest is no less pronounced in this volume than in its immediate predecessor. It was the age of the "monstrous regiment," when the destinies of England, Scotland and France were swayed by women who, as Froude said of Elizabeth, were without the minor scruples which embarrass timid consciences. The difference between Mary and Elizabeth is nowhere revealed more clearly than in their own familiar correspondence and in that of their satellites. In the duel which became inevitable as soon as Mary asserted her rights to the English succession the overwhelming femininity of the Scottish Queen was no match for the more masculine instincts of a rival who, in spite of her vacillating temperament, never allowed her heart to get the better of her judgment. Whatever were Mary's faults and weaknesses she still exercises her magic

power over the minds of men, just as she did more than three hundred years ago; and my task will not have been in vain if the secret of her soft enchantment may be found within the pages of this book. Less than three years are now dealt with, yet in that brief period occurred the fateful marriage with Darnley, the assassination of Mary's favourite, Riccio, the birth of James VI., the murder of Darnley and the mystery of the Casket Letters, the abduction by Bothwell, with its sequel in the marriage at Holyrood, the surrender at Carberry and the flight of Mary's third husband, his imprisonment, abdication and escape, her defeat at Langside, and, finally, her crushing disillusionment on seeking safety in England only to find that all Elizabeth's promises of friendship were worth no more than the paper on which they had been written. Mary, be it remembered, was still little more than twenty-five when she said good-bye for ever to Scotland and liberty.

I have again to thank the Controller of His Majesty's Stationery Office for permission to print the letters from the Calendars of State Papers and the publications of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Permission to include the letter from Darnley to his father, written only three days before his death, and published in the late Mr. Andrew Lang's "Mystery of Mary Stuart," has been very kindly granted by Mrs. Andrew Lang and Messrs. Longmans; and I owe it to the courtesy of Father Pollen that I am able to make liberal use of the illuminative correspondence published for the first time in his scholarly volume of "Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots," which he edited in 1901 for the Scottish History Society. As in the preceding volume I have received invaluable assistance from

the works of Dr. Hay Fleming, Mr. T. F. Henderson, Professor R. S. Rait, and other modern authorities, in addition to those already mentioned, and I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness. A list of the chief sources of the letters themselves will be found on pp. ix, x.

The illustrations, for the most part, are from contemporary portraits in the National Gallery, Hampton Court, Holyrood, and elsewhere. For the portrait of David Riccio I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Roger Ingpen and Messrs. Hutchinson & Co., who reproduced it in Mr. Henderson's Memoirs of "Mary Queen of Scots."

FRANK A. MUMBY.

Postscript.—The above was written some seven years ago, shortly before the outbreak of the Great War, when most literary undertakings which had no bearing on that catastrophe were of necessity suspended. The difficulties which beset the book trade throughout that period did not disappear with the proclamation of peace, and it has only now become possible to add the present volume to the series to which it belongs. F. A. M.

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CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE . . . . . v—viii

CALENDARS OF STATE PAPERS AND OTHER COLLECTIONS FROM WHICH LETTERS HAVE BEEN SELECTED . . . . ix—x

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS xv

CHAPTER I

MARY'S SHORT-LIVED TRIUMPH

The Darnley Match—Revolt of the Protestant Lords—Mary's Metamorphosis—Her Hatred of Murray—Pius V. and the Papal Dispensation—Murray's Rebellion—Elizabeth's Attitude—Mary's Appeal to Philip II.—Riccio's Relation with Mary — Sinister Rumours Regarding Murray — Elizabeth's Double-dealing—Bothwell's Return from Exile—Huntley's Restoration — Mary Marches against the Rebels — Warns Elizabeth against Interfering—Jars between Mary and Darnley—Riccio the Cause—Leicester's Troubles at Elizabeth's Court—Lady Mary Grey's Brobdingnagian Bridegroom—Elizabeth's fresh Matrimonial Moves—Cecil's Summary of the Situation—Elizabeth's Royal Guests—Collapse of Murray's Revolt—Elizabeth Rebukes him at Court—Spanish Gold for Mary . . . . . 1—33

CHAPTER II

"THAT VILLAIN DAVID"

Darnley's Jealousy and Excesses—How Riccio's Murder was Planned — Various Accounts of the Tragedy — Darnley's Treachery—Mary Escapes with him to Dunbar—Flight of Riccio's Murderers—Mary again Warns Elizabeth—Illness of the English Queen — Fishing for Compliments—The Catholic League—Mary and the English Crown—Warnings from Home and Abroad—A Short Way with Scottish Rebels—Elizabeth's Flirtations—Diplomatic Advances to Mary—Murray Restored to Favour—Ruthven's "Godly Departure"—Marching Orders for other Conspirators—Papal Support for Mary—Birth of James VI.—Mary Assures Darnley of his Paternity—How Elizabeth Received the News—Her Golden Gift as Godmother . . . . . 34—81

PAGE

CHAPTER III

MARY AND THE SUCCESSION

Anglo-Scottish Intrigues—Elizabeth's Warning to Mary—Killigrew's Mission—Bedside Reception by Mary—His Opinion of the Infant Prince—Rokesby, the Spy—Mary's Dramatic Interview—Catholic Rising in England Predicted—Elizabeth's Progress to Oxford—Renewing the Archduke's Suit—Parliament and the Succession Debate—Elizabeth's Anger—Stormy Interview with the Lords and Bishops—The Commons Decline to be Browbeaten—Their Victory—Mary's Friends and Foes in Parliament . . . . . 82—109

CHAPTER IV

THE ROAD TO KIRK O' FIELD

Widening of the Rift between Mary and Darnley—Her Flight to Alloa—Darnley's Rebuff—Bothwell's Unnatural Alliance with Him—Their Common Foe—Darnley's Confession to Murray—Lethington Restored to Favour—Mary's Alleged Guilty Relations with Bothwell—Buchanan's Allegations—Darnley Contemplates Flight Abroad—Bothwell Wounded—Mary's Ride to the Hermitage—Her Dangerous Illness at Jedburgh—Darnley's Indifference—Mary on the Border—Her Letter to the English Council on the Succession—The Craigmillar Conference—Baptism of James VI.—Restoration of the Consistorial Jurisdiction . . . . . 110—151

CHAPTER V

THE MURDER OF DARNLEY

Mary Pardons the Riccio Conspirators—Darnley's Fears—A Victim to Small-pox—Mary's Alleged Immoralities—Early Rumours of the Plot against Darnley—Mary's Bitter Complaint to Beaton—The Archbishop's Warning—Darnley Visited by Mary at Glasgow—Her Secret Visit from Morton's "Jackal"—Crawford's Deposition—The Casket Letters—How the Controversy Stands To-day—The Crucial Letter—Murray's Early Reference to It—Mary Conducts Darnley to Kirk o' Field—His Last Letter to his Father—Alleged Fight with Lord Robert Stuart—The Assassination—Buchanan's Account—Letters from Mary and her Council—Other Narratives—Elizabeth's Reception of the News . . . 152—200

CHAPTER VI

BOTHWELL "RULES ALL"

The Burial of Darnley—Mary's Mourning—Killigrew's Account—What Happened at Seton—Bothwell in Power but Denounced as the Murderer—His Threat—Mary to Beaton on the Murder and her Need of Money—Lennox's Appeal for Justice

PAGE

—His Correspondence with Mary—The Feeling Abroad—Archbishop Beaton's Warning—Bothwell Supreme—Murray Retires to the Continent—Arrangements for Bothwell's Trial—Elizabeth Intercedes for its Postponement—The Mock Trial—Murray on the Situation—"Ainslie's Band"—Mary's Capture by Bothwell—The Stirling Letters—Bothwell Leads Mary back to Edinburgh . . . . . 201—237

CHAPTER VII

TWO FATAL MONTHS

Revolt of the Lords—Bothwell Created Duke of Orkney—Early Rumours of Domestic Jars—Mary and Bothwell Married—Her Misery on her Wedding Day—A Jealous Pair—Their Outward Display of Happiness—Mary Discredited Abroad—Her Excuses Rejected at the French Court—International Intrigues for the Infant Prince—English Protestant Opinion—Mary's Assurances to her Confessor—Pius V. Abandons her to her Fate—Elizabeth's Attitude—Bothwell's Letter to her—Gathering Storm in Scotland—Enmity between Bothwell and Lethington—Lethington's Escape—Mary and Bothwell at Borthwick Castle—March of the Confederate Lords—Bothwell's Escape—Carberry Hill—Bothwell's Flight and Mary's Imprisonment . . . . . 238—263

CHAPTER VIII

MARY'S ABDICATION

Mary at Lochleven—Despair Gives Place to Hope—Ruthven Falls under her Spell—Elizabeth's Letter to her by Throckmorton—Throckmorton's Mission—His Interview with Lethington—Murray's Temptations in France—His Summons to Return—Bothwell's Easy Escape—Mary's Life in Lochleven—First Report of Attempt to Escape—Complains of her Harsh Treatment—Her Reason for Not Abandoning Bothwell—Her Alleged Children at Lochleven—The Lords and Elizabeth—Knox Returns with a Vengeance—Contradictory Accounts of Mary's Abdication—Coronation of the Infant James—Throckmorton Claims to have Saved Mary's Life . . . . . 264—292

CHAPTER IX

FROM ONE PRISON TO ANOTHER

Elizabeth Champions Mary's Cause—Murray's Return—His Interview with Guzman—Accusations against Murray and Lethington—Cecil's Views—Elizabeth's Ardour Restrained—Treachery of Mary's Old Allies—Murray's Interviews with Mary—Confederate Lords Defy Elizabeth—Throckmorton

PAGE

Recalled—Exit Bothwell—Mary said to be Recovering her Spirits — Anglo-French Insincerities — Mary and George Douglas—Various Matrimonial Schemes for Her — Another Attempt to Escape—Fruitless Appeal to Catherine de' Medici —Her Pitiful Letter to Archbishop Beaton—George Douglas Plans her Flight—Her Escape—Gathering of the Clans—Langside — Mary's Flight — Why She Sought Safety in England — Elizabeth's Dilemma — Copies of the Casket Letters sent to England—Catherine de' Medici's Home-thrust—Mary at Carlisle—Disillusionment . . . 293—347

INDEX . . . . . 349—369

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FACING PAGE

MARY STUART. From a contemporary portrait in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire. Painter unknown . . . . . *Frontispiece.*

QUEEN ELIZABETH. From the original by Zucchero at Hampton Court Palace 28

DAVID RICCIO. From a contemporary picture . . 43

WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY. From the portrait attributed to Marc Gheeraedts in the National Portrait Gallery 86

JAMES HEPBURN, EARL OF BOTHWELL. From a miniature in the collection of the Hon. Mrs. Boyle. Painter unknown 124

LORD DARNLEY. From a contemporary portrait in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire. Painter unknown 154

MARGARET DOUGLAS, COUNTESS OF LENNOX. From the portrait in the National Gallery. Painter unknown 198

LORD JAMES STUART, EARL OF MURRAY. From the picture in Holyrood 240

WILLIAM MAITLAND OF LETHINGTON. From the Lauderdale portrait 296

THE FALL OF MARY STUART

CHAPTER I

MARY'S SHORT-LIVED TRIUMPH

The Darnley Match—Revolt of the Protestant Lords—Mary's Metamorphosis—Her Hatred of Murray—Pius V. and the Papal Dispensation—Murray's Rebellion—Elizabeth's Attitude—Mary's Appeal to Philip II.—Riccio's Relations with Mary—Sinister Rumours Regarding Murray—Elizabeth's Double-dealing—Bothwell's Return from Exile—Huntly's Restoration—Mary Marches against the Rebels—Warns Elizabeth against Interfering—Jars between Mary and Darnley—Riccio the Cause—Leicester's Troubles at Elizabeth's Court—Lady Mary Grey's Brobdingnagian Bridegroom—Elizabeth's fresh Matrimonial Moves—Cecil's Summary of the Situation—Elizabeth's Royal Guests—Collapse of Murray's Revolt—Elizabeth Rebukes him at Court—Spanish Gold for Mary.

If anything could justify the belief in an inexorable fate, as Voltaire once said, it would be that relentless series of misfortunes which befell the House of Stuart for three hundred years. It was all in accord with this dark destiny that such a man as Darnley should have been flung across the path of Queen Mary in 1565. She was not a predestined virgin, like her English cousin, Queen Elizabeth, and, though still little more than twenty-two, had been a widow for nearly five years. Baulked of the alliance which, on political grounds, she would have preferred above all others—the marriage with the young lunatic, Don Carlos, now being finally dismissed by Philip of Spain on the score of his son's health—humiliated by the indifference of Elizabeth's own unworthy candidate, the Earl of Leicester, and satisfied that both the Archduke Charles and her young brother-in-law, Charles IX. of France, were out of the question, she had taken Darnley not only because he appeared at the psychological moment, appealing to all her primeval instincts as "the lustiest and best proportioned tall man that she had seen," but also, and perhaps chiefly, because he fitted into her

English plans. His right to the English succession, through his mother, Lady Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox, was inferior only to her own, and, besides being a naturalised Englishman, he could claim the "bond of blood" allegiance of two great Scottish houses.

Their marriage on July 29, 1565, marked a turning point in Mary's life, which, had she been more worthily matched, might have changed the whole course of her own and British history. The Catholics were rallying round her without exciting the hatred among the bulk of her Protestant subjects which Randolph, Elizabeth's indefatigable agent, would have willingly believed, though Murray and the other irreconcilable Lords of the Congregation, the Earl of Argyll, and the Duke of Châtelherault, backed, of course, by John Knox and the rest of the implacable preachers of the reformed Kirk, were more bitter against her than ever. The bitterness was mutual and undisguised. Writing from Edinburgh on August 13, John Tamworth, who had been dispatched to Mary to declare Elizabeth's surprise at her proceedings—but at the same time "to procure peace and amity, so that she be not provoked to renew the old league with France"—told Cecil that the offending Lords were "so mortally hated by the Queen and that faction that it was impossible to unite them." Her half-brother — "the bastard" — James Stuart, Earl of Murray, had from the first disapproved of the marriage on religious grounds, besides, doubtless, resenting his own loss of prestige as a natural result of the match. There was little hope of reconciliation between them after Murray's alleged plot to kidnap Mary and Darnley as they rode from Perth to Edinburgh shortly before their wedding, followed by the counter allegation of Darnley's conspiracy against Murray; the truth about both of which will probably never be discovered in the mass of conflicting evidence in which it lies hidden. Declining his half-sister's offer of a safe conduct for himself and eighty of his friends—none too many for safety's sake in those days—in order that he might clear his character, Murray was "put to the horn"—in other words, outlawed as a rebel.

This was little more than a week after Mary's marriage in Holyrood Palace, and the proclamation of Darnley as

King. Probably the sudden loosing of amorous passions had some psychological connexion with the metamorphosis of Mary Stuart at this period. She was "so much altered from what she lately was," according to Randolph during the early days of her infatuation for the "long lad," as Elizabeth called her new husband, "that who now beholds her does not think her the same." In any case, Mary evidently thought that her hour had come for revenge—revenge for all her mother's sufferings in the stormy days of her Regency, and her own humiliations since she exchanged the devotion of her kinsmen in France for the grim suspicion and dour morality of her Protestant Lords and preachers in Scotland. That she would not wait even for the arrival of the papal dispensation before marrying Darnley is obvious from the evidence first produced by Father Pollen in the following letter from Pius IV. himself, written nearly two months after the ceremony in Holyrood Palace:

PIUS IV. TO MARY STUART.

[*Father Pollen's "Papal Negotiations."*]

ROME, *September* 25, 1565.

To our dearest daughter in Christ, Mary, Queen of Scotland.

Dearest Daughter,—Now that we have learned from your letters and from the discourse of your ambassador, our venerable brother, the Bishop of Dunblane, of the marriage to be contracted between you and the noble Earl of Ross, concerning which we have also had letters from our dear son Charles, your uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, it seems to us that your Majesty has done very prudently and wisely in choosing such a man for your husband and consort of your kingdom. We hear that he has many excellent qualities, but is commended especially for constant observance of the Catholic religion, and in this we have found great joy and pleasure. Our hope is that your piety will be much strengthened by the help and aid of such a husband to repress the plague of heretical pravity in that kingdom and to restore the Catholic religion therein to a better state. It was

this, we feel sure, which you had in view above all else in contracting these nuptials, nor do we doubt that the favour of the Divine Creator will rest on a marriage which has been entered on in this spirit. It is also sure to bring happiness and blessing upon you and upon your people. Nor will our help be wanting at a fit and opportune moment, as we have told the Bishop. But whereas you have devoutly asked us for a dispensation from the impediment of kinship in order to contract the marriage, we have willingly complied with your desires and send the dispensation herewith.

To do you honour, dearest daughter, we have likewise set forth letters of provision *sub plumbo* for the Church of Brechin without the payment of any of the ordinary fees to the officials of our curia, and we have ordered them to be delivered to the Bishop himself. We are not accustomed to grant such favours except very rarely and not ever without remonstrance from our officials.

These, however, are but slender tokens of our paternal good will, in comparison with what we are ready to grant your Majesty and your husband as often as opportunity shall be given us. For there is no office or fatherly love so great which both of you may not expect and promise yourselves from us. Only retain constantly and increase, as we trust in the Lord that you will, your pious affection to the Catholic religion, and do your best to restore the light of faith in your kingdom by dispelling the darkness of heresy.

Hold it for certain that the more you defend the honour of God with zeal and activity the more felicitous and glorious will be your reign. His protection has never been wanting to pious and Catholic princes.

The Bishop of Dunblane, your Ambassador, will himself relate to you the rest. As we welcomed him at his coming with all kindness, so we have dismissed him with our benediction, as having discharged his duty with great dexterity and diligence.

Mary did not throw all prudence to the winds. Though the papal dispensation had been granted on her plea that this marriage was the one thing left untried which might bring about a restoration of holy religion,[1] the Queen was careful at the same time to issue proclamations permitting every man to live according to his own conscience, and stoutly denying that she meant to make any alteration of the kind. Thus she retained the loyalty of most of her subjects, who had as little desire to give England another excuse for invasion, as to fall into the hands of either France or Spain. Tolerance was an essential precaution on Mary's part at this time, for she knew perfectly well that Murray was intriguing for Elizabeth's support. The hour, however, was not so favourable for open interference—whatever might be done in secret—as when Elizabeth, responding to a similar appeal some six years previously, helped the Scots to overthrow Mary's mother, her religion, and the influence of her beloved France. Elizabeth also was fully alive to the perils of helping rebels against their lawful sovereign. There was always the danger of infecting her own subjects with the same insidious disease. Murray's rebellion, she argued, was a very different affair from the national revolt against French-Catholic supremacy which had won her open support on the previous occasion. Besides, it was clearly hinted to her that another English invasion of Scotland would at once produce an army from France in support of the Queen of Scots. But it was not to France that Mary now appealed for aid. Catherine de' Medici, her first mother-in-law, was not so likely to help her as was Philip of Spain, upon whom she now called as the self-constituted champion of the Old Faith. No doubt she dreamt of restoring to Scotland in the fulness of time the Church which she had promised the Pope to defend, "for," as she boldly declared to the granite-hearted Knox, "I think it is the true Kirk of God"; but, like Elizabeth, she possessed neither Mary Tudor's fanatical faith in the Catholic religion nor Knox's burning zeal for Calvinism. The Old Faith, however, was the cause which it was expedient to put forward in this critical

[1] Father Pollen's "Papal Negotiations," p. 208.

autumn of 1565, when she solicited help from the King of Spain:

MARY STUART TO PHILIP II.

[*Strickland's "Letters of Mary Queen of Scots."*]

GLASGOW, *September* 10, 1565.

To the King of Spain.

Monsieur my good brother,—The interest which you have always taken in the maintenance and support of our Catholic religion, induced me some time since to solicit your favour and assistance, as I foresaw what has now taken place in the kingdom, and which tends to the utter ruin of the Catholics, and to the establishment of those unfortunate errors, which, were I and the King my husband to oppose, we should be in danger of losing our crown, as well as all pretensions we may have elsewhere, unless we are aided by one of the great princes of Christendom.

Having duly considered this, as likewise the constancy you have displayed in your kingdoms, and with what firmness you have supported, more than any other prince, those who have depended on your favour, we have determined upon addressing ourselves to you in preference to any other, to solicit your advice, and to strengthen ourselves with your aid and support. To obtain this, we have dispatched to you this English gentleman, a Catholic and a faithful servant of the King my husband and myself, with ample directions to give you an account of the state of our affairs, which he is well acquainted with; and we beg you to believe him as you would do ourselves, and to send him back as soon as possible; for occasions are so urgent, that it is of importance both for the crown and the liberty of the Church; to maintain which, we will risk our lives and our kingdom, provided we are assured of your assistance and advice.

After kissing your hands, I pray God to give you, Monsieur my good brother, every prosperity and felicity.

Your very good sister,

MARY R.

Mary's messenger was Francis Yaxley, one of Darnley's English retainers, who had been in the service of Mary Tudor, as explained by Philip in his letter on the subject to Guzman de Silva, his Ambassador at Elizabeth's Court (see p. 30).

Money was now her chief need, for her subjects had rallied round her to the complete undoing of Murray and his disillusioned company, who had neither sufficient heart nor sufficient strength to give her battle as she chased them from pillar to post. Randolph was in despair over their plight, and the hesitation of Elizabeth in responding to their repeated cries for help:

THOMAS RANDOLPH TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

EDINBURGH, *September* 19-20, 1565.

Where the Lords are, their state and case, your honour knows by the report of him that came to you last. I see little hope of accord: the Queen has been sought divers ways, but rejects all, and with a full resolute mind is determined to deal with them in all extremity; so that if God send them not speedy support, they are like to abide marvellous adventures, for of themselves they are not able to withstand her force, and many willing to take their part, doubt the issue so much that till they know what succour they shall receive of her Majesty, they lie back. I fear they shall see these men perish before their eyes and then fall in like danger. It is therefore craved by all that favour God's word and love their country, and would have this plague taken away that hangs over their heads, that it would please God to move her Majesty's heart to have consideration of them. In what sort or how, her Majesty understandeth by their request, and they look daily for some comfortable answer.

Yesterday it was proclaimed that all men should be ready the last of this instant at Stirling with twenty days' provisions. It is thought she will besiege Hamilton Castle and other places thereabout. She

has been in St. Andrews, Dundee, and St. Johnston, and taken a benevolence of each town, with as evil a will of the givers as ever money was paid. Shortly she is looked for here, and has commanded divers Fife gentlemen to ward. Lady Murray has been sought and not found; some say to have been imprisoned to relieve my Lady Lennox, whose husband, now Lieutenant of the West Country, leaves no man unspoiled of whom he likes to take. Argyll spares as few of his as he can meet with. In such good rule is this country, that no honest man is sure of his life or goods. To amend this, it is told me Bothwell is arrived, whose power is to do more mischief than ever he was minded to do good in all his life; a fit man to be made a minister to any shameful act, be it either against God or man. The state of the borders your honour has heard. It is thought a small power will remedy all these matters, or if her Majesty will adventure her force, she may shortly do with this Queen and country as she will. If the like opportunity served her [Mary], with like power and friendship, I know that she would leave nothing unattempted. I refer these things to her Majesty's wisdom, for the likelihood of what I have written I am content to stand to the judgment of any wise man that knows this country. I grieve me to have remained so long here, and now to return with so unhappy an end of my labour; most of all to consider how many dear and good friends her Majesty has who are in such extremity. . . .

So bitter was Mary against her rebellious kinsman, Murray, that she declared to Randolph "she would rather lose her crown than not be revenged upon him."[1] "I may conjecture," he added, "that there is some heavier matter at her heart against him than she will utter to any." This was written on August 27, and hints, it has been suggested, that Mary's unforgivable grudge against Murray was because he knew too much regarding her relations with David Riccio,

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., pp. 197-8.

the upstart Italian who had become her confidential secretary about a year before her marriage with Darnley. Elizabeth told the French Ambassador, Paul de Foix, in October of this year, that the reason for Mary's hatred was because Murray wanted to hang Riccio, "whom she loved and favoured, giving him greater influence than was good either for her interest or her honour";[1] while Bedford made a similar allegation on September 19, when, writing from Berwick, he declared to Cecil that "what countenance that Queen shows to David I will not write for the honour due to the person of a Queen."[2]

Randolph's mysterious message that Murray was hated for understanding "some such secret part (not to be named for reverence sake)," which Von Raumer has construed to mean something too infamous for words, will be found on p. 15. Mary's explanation was that Murray's ambition was nothing less than to succeed her on the throne. "Not many days since," wrote Randolph to Cecil before the Darnley marriage, "she said that she saw whereabout he went, and that he would set the crown upon his own head."[3]

In their pecuniary distress the Protestant Lords had asked Elizabeth to help them with £3,000 as early as the beginning of July, but she had replied in writing with empty words of sympathy and warning. This, however, did not prevent her from sending £3,000 as a gift from the Earl of Bedford, Governor of Berwick. When Tamworth arrived in Edinburgh on August 11, he reported to Cecil that he was so earnestly pressed by Murray and the rest "upon her Majesty's promise of relief that I must send to Berwick for the money I left there, and deliver it to those appointed by Murray to receive it."[4] Later, when the plight of the rebels grew desperate, they dispatched Robert Melville—brother of Sir James, the autobiographer—with a further request to Elizabeth for 3,000 men, and money for their pay, together with artillery and ships to keep the Firth and East Coast—all to be sent in haste. This open assistance, however, was further than Elizabeth meant to go:

[1] Teulet, "Papiers D'État," Vol. II., p. 93.
[2] See Foreign Calendar, Vol. VII., p. 464.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 352.
[4] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 190.

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

October 1, 1565.

The Queen would have them assure themselves, that nothing has happened to her, since coming to her crown, more grievous than to learn their dangerous estate. Though no fruit has yet followed her messages in their favour to the Queen of Scots, her Majesty will still persist. As for the aid by force they require: her Majesty must needs deal justly and plainly with them, and if with her honour and conscience she might give it, the love she bears them would readily induce her Majesty to the same. But this she thinks unaswerable: that she cannot in that manner give them the aid they require, without open war, which she means not to do without a just ground and cause given to her by that Queen. And as she is informed that sundry good men labour to compound their differences, she advises them not to forbear accepting conditions, in hope of her so aiding them. Yet if their Queen's indignation be such that they can obtain no end and preserve their lives, her Majesty, for her private love and clemency, will not omit to receive them into her protection, and save their persons and lives from ruin; and whatsoever shall be requisite thereto, her Majesty will give them aid and succour, intending thereby, with the contentation of her conscience, to show herself as a merciful and Christian prince, to defend innocent noble subjects from tyranny and cruelty.

Having other matters to treat of with their sovereign, she is determined forthwith to send an embassy to the frontier, and therewith an army, to be used as she shall see occasion.

Murray's downfall was welcomed by no one with more undiluted joy than by his old enemy Bothwell, who, sent for at length by Mary, landed at Eyemouth on September 17, narrowly escaping capture at the hands of Charles Wilson, a notorious pirate whose services Bedford was not above using

when occasion required. Charles Wilson had only lately captured the Earl of Sutherland, who, like Bothwell, was homeward bound from the Continent to follow his Queen and her religion in the new crisis. Sutherland was not set at liberty until the following February. Bothwell was more fortunate when he followed in Sutherland's wake about a fortnight later, though Wilson sighted him as he approached the Berwickshire coast, and gave chase. "The escape of Bothwell happened in this sort," explained Bedford to Cecil on September 19: "He had two small boats with oars, and getting under sail with the help of their oars went his way, albeit Wilson shot at him, but did no harm. He landed at Eyemouth, and brought with him six or eight men, certain pistols, and some armour. He tarried not there a quarter of an hour, but went to the Court."[1] Here Bothwell's earlier offences were formally forgiven, and his dignities restored.

With the last of the leading actors now in his appointed place, the tragedy quickened with dramatic intensity. Randolph, who reported the arrival of this stormy petrel in his letter of September 19–20, did not underestimate Bothwell's power to do mischief. On October 2 Captain Cockburn was writing to Cecil from Edinburgh that Mary and Darnley were already at strife about him over the command on the Border—"he would have his father, the Earl of Lennox, and she Bothwell, by reason he bears ill will to Murray, and has promised to have him die or exiled; therefore she makes him Lieutenant of the Marches."[2] Randolph has another characteristic reference to him in his next letter, and also shows how diligently Mary was hunting for money at this time, as well as for her rebellious Lords:

THOMAS RANDOLPH TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

EDINBURGH, *October* 4, 1565.

I have deferred these six or eight days to write, thinking to have something worthy to report—but all things are uncertain. Sometimes this Queen will pursue the noblemen—sometimes will besiege their

[1] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VII., p. 464.
[2] Scottish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. II., p, 217.

houses and take all they have—and sometimes appears so content to hear their griefs, that we are in hope of accord. But I find her only stay is for the money this town is to lend her—only £1,000 sterling—as I hear to be paid within six days, when she will herself take to the field to pursue them. She takes journey on Sunday next. A great force comes from the North with my Lord Gordon, who imputes the overthrow of his father only to my Lord of Murray, which is approved of the Queen's self. Bothwell takes great things on him, and promises much; a fit captain for so loose a company as now hang upon him! To be short: whatsoever she can do by authority, by suit, by request, favour or benefit, all is in one, so it serve to overthrow them that she is offended with. In what state they are, you have heard by themselves, and without speedy help they cannot defend themselves against her power. Divers that favour them be far off; many of their friends are in ward; other well-wishers only wait to see what support shall come from her Majesty.

"My Lord Gordon" was George Gordon, fifth Earl of Huntly, son of that Catholic noble who died in arms against Mary at Corrichie in 1562, and whose earldom of Murray was then given to her half-brother, now himself in revolt against his Queen. The son, who had been imprisoned at Dunbar, and blamed for his father's ruin and death, was now taken into favour by the Queen, and nominally restored to his lands and dignities. It was under this newly-restored Earl of Huntly that Mary, accompanied by Darnley, set out from Edinburgh on October 8, "with the whole force of the North" to meet the rebels at Dumfries. That her blood was up is shown in the brief defiant note which she wrote to Elizabeth before starting:

MARY STUART TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

October 8, 1565.

Madam my sister:

I understand you are offended without just cause against the King my husband and myself; and what

is worse, your servants on the Border threaten to burn and plunder our subjects who wish to aid us against our rebels. If it please you to make your cause that of our traitors, which I cannot believe, we shall be compelled not to conceal it from our princely allies. Praying you to credit the Sieur de Mauvissière in what he says on my part,

Your affectionate good sister and cousin,

MARIE R.

M. Mauvissière was the envoy sent by the King of France as an intermediary between Elizabeth and Mary, but with little prospect of effecting much. "She will not consent," wrote Mary to Randolph on first learning of the envoy's arrival at the English Court, "that her good sister shall meddle in any wise betwixt herself and her subjects."[1] Among her commanding officers when she marched towards Dumfries against the rebels on October 8 was Bothwell, and five days after her departure, Randolph, "with grief of heart"—remembering what foul words Bothwell had said in France both about Mary Stuart and Queen Elizabeth[2]—noted the increasing influence of the Earl, who had as little love for England as for his arch-enemy Murray. The Ambassador also confirmed Cockburn's earlier report of strife over Bothwell between Mary and her husband, whose vain, inexperienced head was by this time so completely turned by his unaccustomed honours that the love which she lavished upon him both before and immediately after their marriage was already cooling:

THOMAS RANDOLPH TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

EDINBURGH, *October* 13, 1565.

Whatsoever is said by any from this Queen, or written by herself, I know it to be far from her heart. To assure you thereof, I send you copy of instructions sent by a servant of her own, whose name I know, to the Duchess of Parma, immediately after

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 203.
[2] Mumby's "Elizabeth and Mary Stuart," p. 347.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton departed hence, whereby you shall find not only she had not that trust in her Majesty that she pretended, nor so well accepted her doings as they were worthy. When such words burst out in writing, it may be easily conjectured what mind she bears, whensoever force answers to her will! Another argument of her good will to the Queen my mistress is, that she, knowing and being told by myself long since, what spiteful words Bothwell had spoken as well of herself as the Queen's Majesty, and having them verified unto her by those that heard them spoken (which in the one, though they may be true, yet in the other are most abominably false), yet is now content to make of him, to credit him, and place him in honour above any subject she hath! If I could as well verify one other thing that I have heard, as I am certain of these two matters I have written, I have a thing more strange than either of these, whereof I will not make mention until I have some better assurance than yet I have. I write these things with no other mind (if it may be possible) than to wish some perfect amity were concluded between the Queens: for to have them always live in this sort, and doubt the one of the other, is unprofitable to them both: and for her Majesty to consume great substance without hope of gain, I can never be of that opinion. I think it my duty to let this Queen in all her doings to be well known to my Sovereign, that the more she is found to have done her injury, with the better conscience and greater reason she may seek to have it repaired.

Whereunto this Queen lately, when I spake with her in words, in the hearing of forty persons, showed herself willing to accord, but seeing so little of effect proceed from her, I suspect all that is spoken, and cannot persuade myself but, by some force at the first, she must be brought unto that which reason cannot persuade her unto. One matter I think good to disclose to you, viz., the hatred conceived against my Lord of Murray is neither for his religion, nor yet for

that which she now speaketh, that he would take the crown from her—as she said lately to myself that that was his intent—but that she knoweth that he understandeth some such secret part (not to be named for reverence sake) that standeth not with her honour, which he so much detesteth, being her brother, that neither can he show himself as he hath done, nor she think of him but as of one whom she mortally hateth. Here is the mischief, this is the grief, and how this may be salved and repaired, it passeth, I trow, man's wit to consider. This reverence, for all that, he hath to his Sovereign, that I am sure there are very few that know this grief; and to have this obloquy and reproach of her removed, I believe he would quit his country for all the days of his life.

Jars are already risen between her and her husband—he to have his father Lieutenant-general and she Bothwell—he to have this man preferred, and she another. You may conjecture the wealth among them, when part of her jewels should have been laid to gage for ij^{m} marks sterling; there was no money in Edinburgh to be got! What honour, when, as she rode this time out of town, she had with her but one woman! What safety and assurance she thinks herself in, (if it be true that I heard), that she has a secret or privy defence on her body, a helmet for her head and a dagger at her saddle. Suppose it not true, it argues the love of those that speak it, and their mind to her! I write these things more with grief of heart, than that I take pleasure to set forth any person's shame, especially such as we ought to reverence under God, if to Him they know their duties! I should trouble you too long if I wrote everything I hear of his [Darnley's] words and doings, boasting of his friends here and there, and assurance of them, who would, if they knew, be the first to seek revenge of his false reports.

The disturbing influence in the royal household at this time was not so much Bothwell as David Riccio, the pushful Piedmontese, whose influence increased in proportion

to the gradual awakening of Mary to her husband's vicious habits and incompetence. "You know the inequality of the match," wrote Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith in Paris in September, "and therefore the event is uncertain. The young King is so insolent that his father is weary of his government, and is departed from the Court."[1] If Mary's object, now that Murray had vanished, was to gather the strings of government into her own hands, she found in Riccio a ready substitute not only for her rebellious brother, but also for Maitland of Lethington, the "Cecil of Scotland." The Italian enjoyed more of her confidence and intimacy than did Darnley himself. The Catholic nobles were jealous of his power, while the Protestants had long suspected him of being an agent of the Pope—though there is no documentary evidence of this—and largely responsible for the Queen's refusal to join their Kirk. Riccio did not improve matters by his ill-bred arrogance. Randolph's regret in his next letter was "that a stranger, a varlet, should have the whole guiding of Queen and country." This letter is too long to print in full, but it confirmed what the English Ambassador had previously written of Scotland's lamentable condition, and probably caused Elizabeth's favourite to thank his stars that he was not in Darnley's ill-fitting shoes:

THOMAS RANDOLPH TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

EDINBURGH, *October* 18, 1565.

So long as I knew your Lordship had credit in this Court, I took no small pleasure from time to time to report the state thereof: sometimes of the Queen's self—sometimes of the ladies and maidens—and never lacked matter. Then I thought myself happy, and in my own conceit rejoiced to think what a life I should have led if through my service and travail these two countries had been united in one, and your Lordship here to have enjoyed both the Queen and country—whereto I found not only herself, but as many as ever heard your name, no less willing than I, that so it should have been. Since then what change there

[1] Ellis's "Original Letters," Second Series, Vol. II., p. 303.

has been! I may well say that a more wilful woman, and one more wedded unto her own opinion, without order, reason, or discretion, I never did know or hear of. Her husband, in all these conditions and many worse, far passeth herself. Her Council are men never esteemed for wisdom or honesty. Herself and all about her are so ill spoken of, that worse cannot be thought than is common in men's mouths. You will find these things strange, specially confirmed by me, that so oftentimes, in word and writing, set forth her praises wherever I came, that I was hardly believed. But had it been only myself that so thought of her, and not confirmed by many others, I should have confessed myself unadvised in judgment. But she is so much changed in her nature, that she beareth only the shape of that woman she was before. Wherefore your Lordship may not think that you should in any case have been beguiled, but that only for lack of so good a husband as she should have had of you, and for only despite that she wanted you, and in the getting of you could not have her will, gave such liberty unto the natural disposition that is in the whole kind, that she cared neither what became of herself nor country, so that she might do anything that might grieve them with whom she was and yet is offended!

All was not well at this period with Leicester himself. Elizabeth was showing signs of transferring her favours to another of her courtiers, one of Leicester's personal friends this time—Thomas Heneage. Heneage, who was already married, was in later years knighted, and appointed her Vice-Chamberlain. Doubtless Elizabeth was merely acting the part for a purpose, but, in any case, the two men had high words on the subject, and Leicester, ill-used to rivalry where he had practically reigned supreme since Elizabeth's accession to the throne six years previously, complained to the Queen about it. "She was apparently much annoyed," wrote Guzman to Philip II., "though what she said could not be heard. Heneage, however, at once left the Court, and Robert did not see the Queen for three days, until she sent

for him, and they say now that Heneage will come back at the instance of Lord Robert, to avoid gossip."[1] A week later the Spanish Ambassador added the following details of the affair:

The real ground for the dispute between Lord Robert and Heneage, I am assured by a person of confidence, who received it from Throckmorton, is the following: This Throckmorton, who rules Lord Robert, advised him to devise some means to find out whether the Queen was really as much attached to him as she appeared to be, as his case was in danger. If she was, Throckmorton advised him to try to carry his business through quickly, and if not, to espouse the cause of the Archduke, so that in this way he would remain in high position in any case, whereas if neither his own business nor that of the Archduke was carried through, all the principal people in the country, and particularly his opponents, would lay the blame on him, and he would find himself in an awkward fix if he failed in his own suit, and yet was accused of hindering the Queen's marriage to anyone else. He advised him to do two things, the first pretending to fall in love himself with one of the ladies in the palace and watch how the Queen took it, and the other to ask her leave to go to his own place, to stay as other noblemen do. The Earl took his advice and showed attention to the Viscountess of Hereford, who is one of the best-looking ladies of the Court, and daughter of a first cousin to the Queen, with whom she is a favourite. This being the state of things, the dispute with Heneage took place, and Leicester seized this opportunity to ask leave to go. The Queen was in a great temper, and upbraided him with what had taken place with Heneage, and his flirting with the Viscountess, in very bitter words. He went down to his apartments and stayed there for three or four days, until the Queen sent for him, the Earl of Sussex and Cecil having tried to smooth

[1] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 470.

the business over, although they are no friends of Lord Robert in their hearts. The result of the tiff was that both the Queen and Robert shed tears, and he has returned to his former favour.[1]

Lady Hereford afterwards became Countess of Essex, and took Leicester as her second husband in 1578, so it is probable, if Guzman's account may be accepted, that the favourite's flirtation made a deeper impression than Guzman realised. A more amusing version of the affair comes from the Venetian Ambassador in France, in a letter in which he still referred to Leicester as "Lord Robert," though Dudley's Earldom had been conferred a year before. In this the Venetian was like Randolph in Edinburgh, who could not help referring to him as "Lord Robert" months after his promotion. "He beareth yet here no other name," said Randolph, "for *Leicester* is not so ready in our mouths as that which we were wont to call him by":[2]

I heard lately (wrote the Venetian Ambassador) that Lord Robert was in disgrace with the Queen of England, and on asking her Ambassador resident here [Sir Thomas Smith] he confirmed the fact, and narrated the cause to me as follows: It being the custom in England on the day of the Epiphany to name a King, a gentleman was chosen who had lately found favour with Queen Elizabeth, and a game of questions and answers being proposed, as usual amongst merry-makers, he commanded Lord Robert to ask the Queen, who was present, which was the most difficult to erase from the mind, an evil opinion created by a wicked informer or jealousy? and Lord Robert, being unable to refuse, obeyed. The Queen replied courteously that both things were difficult to get rid of, but that, in her opinion, it was much more difficult to remove jealousy. The game being ended, Lord Robert, angry with that gentleman for having put this question to the Queen, and assigning perhaps a sense to this proceeding other than jest, sent to

[1] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 472.
[2] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 131.

threaten him, through the medium of a friend, that he would castigate him with a stick. The gentleman replied that this was not punishment for equals, and that if Lord Robert came to insult him, he would find whether his sword cut and thrust, and that if Lord Robert had no quarrel with him, Lord Robert was to let him know where he was to be found, because he would then go to Lord Robert quite alone; but the only answer Lord Robert gave was that this gentleman was not his equal, and that he would postpone chastising him until he thought it time to do so. Shortly afterwards the gentleman went to the Queen, and let her know the whole circumstance. Her Majesty was very angry with Lord Robert, and said that if by her favour he had become insolent he should soon reform, and that she would lower him just as she had at first raised him; and she banished from the Court the gentleman who had taken his message. Lord Robert was quite confused by the Queen's anger, and placing himself in one of the rooms of the palace in deep melancholy, remained there four consecutive days, and showing by his despair that he could no longer live; so the Queen, moved to pity, restored him again to her favour; yet as the Ambassador told me, his good fortune, if perhaps not impeded, will at least have been delayed a little, for it had been said that she would shortly proclaim him Duke and marry him.[1]

It was one of the ironies of Elizabeth's reign at this period that she should be beset by marriage problems on every hand. As if her own and Mary Stuart's affairs were not enough for this eventful year, news leaked out at the English Court during the summer of a second disturbing marriage, by another Mary in the royal succession. "Here is an unhappy chance," wrote Cecil to Smith on August 21[2]—"the Sergeant Porter, being the biggest gentleman in this Court, hath married secretly the Lady Mary Grey, the least of all the Court": so that the fate which had befallen Lady Catherine

[1] Venetian Calendar, Vol. VII., pp. 37-45.
[2] Ellis's "Original Letters," Second Series, Vol. II., p. 299.

Grey—still imprisoned in the Tower with her husband, Lord Hertford, for their secret marriage five years previously—now overtook her younger sister. Henry Keys, the brobdingnagian bridegroom—a widower with several children—was promptly committed to the Fleet, while Lady Mary was removed to private custody in various country houses, and not released until 1573, two years after her husband's death.[1]

In the midst of the discovery of Lady Mary's secret match during the summer of 1565, Elizabeth's Council made desperate efforts to clinch matters in the long-drawn-out negotiations for the Queen's own marriage. Elizabeth herself had informed the new Emperor, Maximilian II., that "whereas heretofore she had always purposed to die a virgin, nevertheless at the pressing instance of the Estates of her realm, she had now decided to marry, and had authorised the Ambassadors to communicate the same."[2] The great obstacle, as Cecil told Sir Thomas Smith, was "that the Queen's Majesty will needs see before she marry. And how that device can be performed, if she should assent either to the French King or to the Archduke, will prove hard. Her Majesty remembereth her promise to remain free until she hath well answered the French King, and so her Majesty considereth meet for her honour to do, which causeth the Emperor's Ambassador to lack resolution, and yet he findeth as I hear so general a liking among the great Lords here, that he is in great hope to speed. What shall follow, God knoweth. The Lord of Leicester furthereth the Queen's Majesty with all good reasons to take one of these great Princes. Wherein surely, perceiving his own cause not hopeful, he doth honourably and wisely."[3] Leicester, however, knew well enough that it was safe to seem well disposed towards the Archduke's suit, though this was mainly promoted by his declared enemies, Norfolk and Suffolk. The Queen could always beat a retreat before venturing too far. As for the negotiations for her marriage with the boy King of France, these were merely a farce for Philip's benefit, lest he

[1] She died in 1578, ten years after the death of Lady Catherine, and twenty-four after the execution of the unhappiest of all these unhappy sisters—Lady Jane Grey.

[2] Hatfield MSS., Vol. I., p. 321.

[3] Wright's "Queen Elizabeth and her Times," p. 198.

should think of throwing in his lot with the Queen of Scots. There was the chance, too, that Elizabeth, made desperate by these constant supplications to marry, would put an end to them all by choosing a husband at home, as Mary Stuart had done. No doubt existed as to her choice in that case, especially as there was no longer any need for spoiling Mary's matrimonial chances abroad. All these negotiations and cross-purposes, lasting for months together, led to rumours of discord which Cecil summed up in the following letter for Sir Thomas Smith's benefit, after acquainting him with the dissensions in the Council concerning the crisis in Scotland :

SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

[*Wright's "Queen Elizabeth and her Times."*]

WESTMINSTER, *October* 16, 1565.

Sir,

Considering your son cometh thither, he can report to you all common news and rumours here, and yet perchance all are not true that he may think true, for so I see men of good understanding here many times abused. Indeed here are sundry devises of our own inward causes. Some make and devise talk, as though some of the Council were of one mind concerning the Scottish causes, and some of another. True it is that arguments have been made contrariwise, some to aid the Lords of Scotland plainly and openly, some but covertly, some not at all ; but in the end the Queen's Majesty hath resolved to use all good means by mediation, by outward countenance, to relieve them, but to do nothing that may break peace.

Again there are sundry rumours that the Lords here do not accord together ; that my Lord of Leicester should not have so great favour as he had ; that my Lord of Sussex and he should be in strange terms ; that my Lord of Norfolk, my Lord Chamberlain, my Lord of Hunsden, etc., should also not allow of my Lord of Leicester ; that Mr. Heneage should be in very good favour with her Majesty, and so misliked by my Lord of Leicester, with such infinite

toys [trifles]; but I trust no harm indeed shall follow, for all these Lords are bent towards her Majesty's service, and do not so much vary among themselves, as lewd men do report. To tell you truly, I think the Queen's Majesty's favour to my Lord of Leicester be not so manifest as it was, to move men to think that she will marry with him; and yet his Lordship hath favour sufficient, as I hear him say to his good satisfaction. My Lord of Sussex thinketh that my Lord of Leicester might do more for him in causes of Ireland than he hath. My Lord of Norfolk loveth my Lord of Sussex earnestly, and so all that stock of the Howards seem to join in friendship together, and yet in my opinion without cause to be misliked; and for the Duke, I think England hath not had in this age a nobleman more likely to prove a father and a stay to this country, and so I am glad to perceive the Queen's Majesty to have him in estimation: he is wise, just, modest, careful, *et timens Deum*.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton is also much noted by speech to be a director of my Lord of Leicester, but I think my Lord well able to judge what is meet or unmeet, and doth use Mr. Throckmorton friendly because he doth show himself careful and devout to his Lordship. What is said of me I think I cannot know; but this I am assured of, that I have no affection to be of a party, but for the Queen's Majesty I will always travail to accord noblemen, and not to minister devices of discord. You see I make report to my own praise, and to belie myself were madness, but when trial shall be, you shall see I report truly of myself; and God send me his assistance to be void of fear or partial love to any but to her Majesty, whom while I serve truly, I do find many stumbling blocks and dangerous . . . .

To add to the matrimonial puzzle, King Eric of Sweden had renewed his own suit for Elizabeth's hand. His envoy was presently followed by his sister, Princess Cecilia, who with her husband, the Margrave of Baden, after eleven months' wandering on the Continent landed in England

early in September. The Queen gave them a royal welcome and entertained them as her guests at Durham House. Four days after her arrival the Princess gave birth to a son, to whom Elizabeth herself stood godmother at the christening in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, on the last day of September. Cecil betrayed some anxiety to discover the real object of the Margravine's visit when he wrote to Smith towards the end of the letter already quoted: "Of the Lady Cecilia of Sweden your son can report how bountifully she liveth here, of whom also there are sundry opinions—some that she meant to set on foot her brother's former suit of marriage, but perceiving that not to be found probable, some now say that she will further my Lord of Leicester's towards her Majesty; but if she shall find no success thereof, then some will say as they list, and thus you see how all things are subject to reports." The Margravine's presence so gratified Elizabeth —long unused to the company of other royal ladies—that she persuaded her to remain after her husband's departure. Writing towards the end of the year to the Earl of Shrewsbury, a correspondent informed him that the Queen was so delighted with her company and conversation that "she doth not only allow her very honourable table at Court—three messes of meat twice a day for her maids and the rest of her family—but hath also dealt so liberally with her husband that he hath a yearly pension of two thousand crowns, which he is to enjoy so long as he suffereth the lady his wife to reside here in England."[1]

Murray's revolt in Scotland had meantime fizzled out. The leaders, failing enough recruits among their own countrymen, and reinforcements from England, were neither in the right mood nor sufficient strength to face Mary with her "whole force of the North." They had actually crossed the Border to Carlisle and safety—their dispirited army dissolving in all directions—two days before Mary set out to crush them from Edinburgh. Finding no rebels to crush she returned to Holyrood, disappointed, perhaps, of being robbed of her battle, but conscious that absolute sovereignty was now for the first time within her grasp. Bothwell in the meantime was left behind to guard the

[1] Lodge's "Illustrations," Vol. I., p. 358.

Border. From Carlisle, on October 14, Murray wrote to Cecil complaining that they had been brought to that unhappy pass through following Queen Elizabeth and her Council's advice. "I doubt not," he declared, "but you understand sufficiently that neither they nor I enterprised this action (without foresight of our sovereign's indignation), but being moved thereto by the Queen your sovereign, and her Council's hand, written direct to us thereupon."[1] But Elizabeth, who was never troubled with conscientious scruples at critical moments, did not hesitate now to throw over the defeated Murray and his followers. She added insult to injury by publicly rebuking him before the French Ambassadors, the official account of which is contained in the Privy Council's letter to the Ambassador in Paris:

THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

October 23, 1565.

As the bruits of the troubles lately begun in Scotland, and the Queen's Highness's dealings therein, will be diversely reported in the Court of France, we have thought good to signify that the Scottish Lords in their Queen's displeasure fled to Calais, meaning to remain (if her Highness licensed them) till their mistress should by some good means be pacified—which was the cause why the Queen's Majesty the less misliked their coming. Finding their hope not so soon answered, they devised to draw to Court to move her Majesty to take the mediator's hand: which her Highness out of hand forbade, her letters to her officer finding the most part of them at Newcastle, the Earl of Murray, who had made more haste, having reached Royston by post, where he was stayed. The Queen, though much offended, yet by her Council's advice, thought it should not be dishonourable, nor ill taken, to hear the cause of his coming. To which end he was brought the next day, which was the 23rd day of this present, to the Court,

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 224.

where in the presence of the French Ambassador and M. Mauvissière, who therefore were required to be there, and in the presence of her whole Council, he declared kneeling before her Majesty, that being with divers others entered into the Queen's displeasure, by the means of such as were their enemies, and thereby driven to forsake for a time their native country for their none offence by any of them meant to the Queen their mistress (which he uttered with great and earnest asservation) he presumed upon the confidence conceived by her Majesty's good and ready mind and nature to help the oppressed, to repair to her Court, and most humbly to beseech her to be a means unto the said Queen their mistress, to receive them again into her grace.

Her Highness having this far heard him, told him first, that she thought it very strange that a man being in his case, would presume to come so near unto her, and in effect, to her presence before she heard any word thereof. Nevertheless, being as it is, she thought not amiss to hear him, namely what he could say to such bruits as did run of him and others touching his and their ill meaning and disobedience to their Sovereign lady: which was that they had refused to resort to at her calling—that they had confederated themselves against her—and finally, that they had levied a force. "If this were true," quoth she, "it were no prince's part to think well of your doings; and for her own part if it might so appear, she would not only by all kinds of ways declare her misliking thereof, but put also her helping hand to make them to understand the duty which the subject ought to bear towards the prince." In which speech she was so earnest, that it well appeared her opinion that no subject should be maintained in forgetting his duty: and that she might understand the true and just cause of their mistress's displeasure, she required him, on the faith of a gentleman, and upon that allegiance which he owed to the Queen, to declare the whole and perfect truth of the quarrel.

Whereunto he declared how truly and duly he had served her ever since her return from France, his desire that she should marry in such sort as best stood with her own honour and safety, quiet of her realm, and maintaining the peace with England—his objections to her intended match with Darnley, as without her Majesty's knowledge and contentment—his humble advice against it—and that he did not refuse to come to Court when sent for a little before. The truth was that, being in his way thitherward within three or four miles, he received intelligence that if he kept on his journey his life should be in danger: whereupon going back again, he advertised her of the cause of his retiring—and when she demanded to hear incontinently who told him, he replied his life should rather be in danger, than by his means so good friends should come to trouble; but if it pleased her to grant him six months, he would rather come unto her and utter such as had put this fear in him, or else commit his lands, heritage and living to be ordered as best should like her.

Shortly after, he and others were put to the horn; whereon he went to Argyll, meeting there the Duke, Argyll and Glencairn, and then passing from place to place to Dumfries, with not much above 80 horse, choosing so to flee than to be a party against his Sovereign, they were finally driven for safety of their lives into Carlisle, to seek her Majesty's mediation as before declared. Whereupon her Majesty asked him before the French Ambassador and Mauvissière, whether he were ever privy to any intention to have done anything to the apprehension of the Queen their Sovereign, or to the danger of her person? For so her Majesty had report made to her. To which he affirmed with great constancy, that if so it might be proved he besought her Majesty to cause his head to be stricken off, and sent into Scotland.

He testified before God, that in all his actions he had no meaning but principally the honour of Almighty God, by conserving the estate of his religion

in Scotland, and next the dignity and estate of his Sovereign to govern her realm and people in peace and quietness, and so to live with the Queen of England and her realm. And, so these were regarded, he set least by himself. And he often expressed by words that he knew it was not his Sovereign's natural disposition to be thus offended with him and others, and finally besought her Majesty's mediation therein. And to conclude: her Majesty spake very roundly to him before the Ambassador, that whatsoever the world said or reported of her, she would by her actions let it appear she would not, to be a prince of a world, maintain any subject in any disobedience against the prince; for besides the offence of her conscience, which should condemn her, she knew that Almighty God might justly recompense her with the like trouble in her own realm: and so break off her speech any further with him.

The Spanish Ambassador, who sent Philip a more picturesque account of Murray's historic humiliation than this official report, declared that he had received information that Murray had a long, secret interview the night before with Elizabeth and Cecil, at which, "no doubt, the proceedings of the next day were discussed."[1] Whatever truth there may be in this — and something of the sort must have happened to account for what Dr. Hay Fleming calls Murray's "sinful silence" on that occasion — there is no need to doubt the depth of that Earl's feelings when he discovered that Elizabeth had no intention of helping him further in his cause:

THE EARL OF MURRAY TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

WESTMINSTER, *October* 30, 1565.

Having received your Majesty's last answer, and deeply weighing the same with myself, I have entered in such consideration on my present estate and others who through my occasion are drawn in the like

[1] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 502.

Photo W. A. Mansell & Co.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

From the Original by Zucchero at Hampton Court Palace.

distress, that little repose have I had in heart since my departure from your Highness. It were easier to bear, if I knew wherein I had deserved so hard handling of your Majesty, whom I have studied to my uttermost to serve and gratify. The more I think hereon, it is ever the longer the more grievous to me, that many nobles and others of mean qualities, without their desert towards this country, have ever found favour both from your Majesty and your noble progenitors when their causes were not to be compared to this! And I, who whenever occasion was presented (as I doubt not but your Majesty well considers) endeavoured to serve you with thankful heart, can no way see in your Highness's last answer any such affection towards my present state as to disappoint my unfriends. Your Majesty's declaration has been more grievous to me than all the troubles I suffer: and seeing my repose is like to be small till I know more of your Majesty's pleasure, I leave Mr. Melville to learn the same, to whom it will please you to give credit.

To ensure that her treatment of Murray was not wasted, Elizabeth sent Randolph a full account of the incident for the Queen of Scots' benefit,[1] and wrote a letter to Mary herself saying how much she wished her dear sister could have been present, to hear with her own ears the terms in which she had rebuked her rebels. "So far," Elizabeth added, "was she from espousing the cause of such traitors, that she should hold herself disgraced if she had so much as tacitly borne with them. . . . She wished her name might be blotted out from the list of princes as unworthy to hold a place among them," if she had done any such thing.[2] In the meantime, on the other hand, Mary's envoy Yaxley had been handsomely received by Philip of Spain, who sent him back not only with renewed promises of support, but also with practical assistance in the shape of 20,000 crowns:

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 230.
[2] Froude's "History of England.

PHILIP II. TO GUZMAN DE SILVA.

[*Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth*, Vol. I.]

Wood of Segovia, *October* 24, 1565.

After the accompanying letter was written to go by the courier leaving for Flanders a servant of the King of Scotland, an Englishman named Francis Yaxley, arrived here, who was in the service of Queen Mary, my wife now in glory. He brought us letters from the King and Queen of Scotland accrediting him, and spoke at great length in virtue thereof. We repeat below what he said and the answers we ordered to be given on each point. The first thing was to inform us in very fair words of the great hope and confidence they reposed in me, desiring to govern themselves by my direction, and to do nothing whatever without my consent and pleasure, and for this reason they wished to inform me of the state of need in which they were, and assure us generally of their zealous desire to establish and reform their kingdom under the Christian religion, and join other Christian princes with that end. Not having sufficient forces of their own they begged me to aid them as a Christian monarch, and to induce me to do so, set forth the danger of which the Sovereigns of Scotland were by reason of the heretics, stimulated and favoured by Englishmen and English money, so that the said Sovereigns might easily be conveyed by the rebels out of the country, and the State left unprotected unless I, in whom, after God, they put their trust, did not aid them with money and troops. If I would consent to do this it would not only be the way to destroy the rebels, but would confirm the King and Queen in their hope of succeeding to the English throne, and would banish their fear that the heretics, with their innovations and artfulness, would oust them, the real heirs, and elect some heretic of their own faction. They promised that if they obtained the succession to the crown by our means they would renew more closely the league and alliance between

England and our house against all Christendom, and leave all their other friends.

They also begged us to be pleased to write affectionate letters to the Queen of England with two very necessary objects; first the release of Lady Margaret,[1] and secondly that the said Queen should desist from helping the Scottish rebels either publicly or privately. Yaxley also added, as if of his own accord, that if we thought fit to send a person to arrange a more perfect understanding he knew his Sovereigns would be very glad. He begged in the name of his Sovereigns that we would counsel them how they should proceed in all things, and as I was so far off that I should nominate some person to whom they could address themselves for such advice without so much delay.

With regard to the first point about the straits in which they were, we ordered him to reply that we greatly grieved thereat, and were sure that God, whose cause they were defending, would not abandon them, and I for my part would very willingly help them now and hereafter, to that end. He was informed of the resolution which had been adopted, which is conveyed to you in the other letter, except that it was not considered advisable to send the 20,000 crowns through you and in the form of a credit, as it would be a lengthy way and difficult to preserve the necessary secrecy, and it has therefore been decided to order Alonso del Canto to receive these 20,000 crowns in Antwerp, without anybody knowing what they are for, and pay them over to this Francis Yaxley, the King's servant, at some place outside Antwerp, whence he can send or take them to Scotland. It will be well for you, if you have any facility for doing it, to advise the Queen of Scotland on receipt of this letter of the aid we are sending her, and of the other points dealt with in the preceding letter, so that she may instruct Yaxley what to do with the money, and how he can best forward it with safety.

[1] Darnley's mother, whom Elizabeth had imprisoned in the Tower since the previous June.

The answer to the Queen of Scotland's letter will be sent by Yaxley, and will not be enclosed herewith as advised. With regard to the second point, respecting the release of Lady Margaret, and that we should write to the Queen respecting it, as well as to ask her not to help the Scottish rebels, we have excused ourselves from writing such letter, saying that it would do harm rather than good to the business in hand for us to take any such step in our own name, and particularly at the present time, but when an opportunity for doing so arrived we would not miss it, and would send instructions to you. You will accordingly take any favourable opportunity that occurs, as you did when the Queen spoke to you about Scottish affairs, and deal with the matter in the same way as then, as it is not expedient to make any other form of representation at present. With regard to the suggestion about a closer treaty of friendship, I said it was not yet time for that, and as they could confide in me by the earnest I gave them in sending the succour, I also could trust them, as such good and Christian monarchs would not fail to fulfil their obligations and promises. In reply to their last request that I would advise them as to what they should do, and how they should proceed we have ordered to be repeated to them exactly what we have written to you in the other letter, namely, that for the present they should confine themselves to punishing the rebels and pacifying the kingdom. When they have done this and smoothed things down, they could look further ahead than at present, and in the meanwhile they could consult either you, or Don Frances de Alava, or both, on their affairs, who would communicate with us and would receive our answer with all speed, although both of you were well informed of our general opinions. As it will be impossible to give valuable advice unless we are fully informed of the state of their affairs, they should be careful to inform you and Don Frances very minutely of the condition of their business.

Yaxley leaves here by post to-morrow, and goes direct to Brussels both to receive the money from Alonso del Canto, and in order that Madame may provide him with a safe passage, as I write her to do. It will also be well for you to convey all this to the King and Queen of Scotland, so that they may see the goodwill with which I embrace their affairs, and keep steadfast in their righteous determination.

Unfortunately for Mary the passage of this sorely-needed money was dogged by the traditional luck of her race, the ship in which Yaxley started on the final stage of his journey being wrecked on the Northumbrian coast. Yaxley's body was washed ashore with the funds still upon him, but Mary might as well have cried for the moon when she claimed the money as her rightful property. It was not often that the sea yielded such golden treasure trove, and the Earl of Northumberland, who claimed the body and everything on it by virtue of his foreshore rights, declined to disgorge, "albeit he was himself a Catholic and professed secretly to be her friend," as Sir James Melville said, in describing his unsuccessful mission to the Earl on Mary's behalf. She joined in the long dispute which ensued between the Earl and the English Crown, which put in its own claim as owner of treasure trove, but neither side would waive its pretensions in her favour. This, however, was a misfortune which could be overcome. Outwardly at least the year closed in triumph for Mary, who had not only crushed her rebels and scored off her "dearest sister," but had also brought within sight, as she presently wrote to Archbishop Beaton, the possibility of doing "some good anent restoring the old religion."

CHAPTER II

"THAT VILLAIN DAVID"

Darnley's Jealousy and Excesses—How Riccio's Murder was Planned—Various Accounts of the Tragedy—Darnley's Treachery—Mary Escapes with him to Dunbar—Flight of Riccio's Murderers—Mary again Warns Elizabeth—Illness of the English Queen—Fishing for Compliments—The Catholic League—Mary and the English Crown—Warnings from Home and Abroad—A Short Way with Scottish Rebels—Elizabeth's Flirtations—Diplomatic Advances to Mary—Murray Restored to Favour—Ruthven's "Godly Departure"—Marching Orders for other Conspirators—Papal Support for Mary—Birth of James VI.—Mary Assures Darnley of his Paternity—How Elizabeth Received the News—Her Golden Gift as Godmother.

THE triumph of "the most unhappy of an unhappy race" was destined to be short-lived. Her high hopes arising from it were shattered through the very marriage which should have been the mainstay of her success. The coolness already noticed between Darnley and the Queen increased ten-fold when she refused him the Crown Matrimonial, upon which his heart and vaunting ambition were now set. The Crown Matrimonial would have strengthened his position enormously, making him King for life; and doubtless Mary would have yielded had he possessed half the masterful personality of the more brutal Bothwell, for whom she was so soon to declare her readiness to sacrifice everything in the world. Darnley suspected Riccio to be at the bottom of his wife's refusal of this crowning dignity, and was filled with jealousy that anyone, and a foreign varlet of all men, should be usurping his place in his wife's confidence. Neglecting her more and more, he abandoned himself to excesses which filled her with disgust. Randolph had noted significant changes at Court in the letter to Cecil which he had written from Edinburgh on Christmas Day. "I never knew so many alterations as are now in this government," he said. "Awhile there was nothing but King and Queen, his Majesty and hers; now the Queen's husband is the most common word. He was wont in all writings to be first named, but now he is placed second. Lately pieces of

money were coined with both their faces, 'Hen. et Maria'; these are called in and others framed as the one now sent. Some private disorders there are among themselves, but may be but *Amantium viæ* etc.[1] Jealousy made Darnley an easy prey to suspicions that "that villain David" had filled his cup of dishonour to overflowing, and by the beginning of the year he was ripe for any conspiracy against him. Professor Pollard, in "The Political History of England," referring to Riccio's place in Mary's confidence, declares that "the innocence of their relations can only be defended by denying Mary's common-sense." Common-sense was never a characteristic trait of the Stuarts, and though Mary had more of that commodity than many members of her House, she displayed an absolute lack of it on more than one historic occasion. In the present case, if aiming at absolute monarchy, Riccio was an indispensable tool, especially in her negotiations with the great Catholic powers. That she was imprudent is admitted, and she may have been guilty; but the most damning piece of evidence against her will not bear very close investigation. This is the story recounted by De Foix to the effect that Darnley, finding the door of Mary's chamber locked at midnight not long before the murder, threatened to break it open, and on being admitted found Riccio alone with her, "*en chemise*," covered only with a fur gown.[2] But this was merely second-hand gossip, for De Foix was not in Scotland at the time. If William Drury, who was marshal and deputy governor of Berwick, may be believed, Darnley was now drinking himself into a condition which helps to explain his monumental folly in plotting his revenge with those who despised and distrusted him as much as they hated the Italian:

SIR WILLIAM DRURY TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[*Keith's "Church and State in Scotland,"* Vol. II.]

BERWICK, *February* 16, 1566.

M. de la Roc Paussay and his brother arrived here yesterday (from Scotland). He is sick, my Lord

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 248.
[2] Teulet: "Papiers D'État," Vol. II., p. 120.

Darnley having made him drink of *aqua composita*.[1] All people say that Darnley is too much addicted to drinking. It is certainly reported there was some jar betwixt the Queen and him at an entertainment in a merchant's house in Edinburgh, she only dissuading him from drinking too much himself, and enticing others; in both which he proceeded, and gave her such words that she left the place with tears, which they that are known to their proceedings say is not strange to be seen. These jars arise, among other things, from his seeking the matrimonial crown, which she will not yield unto; the calling in of the coin wherein they were both [represented], and the Duke's [of Châtelherault] finding so favourable address; which hath much displeased both him and his father [Lennox]. Darnley is in great misliking with the Queen. She is very weary of him; and, as some judge, will be more so ere long: for true it is, that these who depend wholly upon him are not liked of her, nor they that follow her of him, as David and others. Some say she likes the Duke better now than formerly: so some think that if there should be the quarrel betwixt her and Darnley, which she could not appease, that she will use the Duke's aid in that affair. There also have arisen some unkind speeches about the signing of letters; he immediately after his marriage signed first, which she will not allow of now. His government is very much blamed, for he is thought to be wilful and haughty, and some say vicious; whereof too many were witnesses the other day at Inchkeith, with the Lord Robert, Fleming, and such like grave personages. I will not rehearse to your Honour what of certainty is said of him at his being there.

The air was full of such sinister rumours and dark fore-

[1] Presumably whisky. "Darnley in all probability," says the editor of "Keith," "intoxicated the two Frenchmen wilfully, by plying them with a liquid to which they were unaccustomed, and of the potency of which they had no conception. At that time the Incorporation of Surgeons in Edinburgh possessed the exclusive right of selling whisky in the city, which was conferred on them by their Seal of Cause in 1505, as printed in the singular little work, the 'History of the Blue Blanket,'" p. 58.

bodings. Writing from Edinburgh to the Earl of Leicester three days earlier, Randolph predicted the approaching tragedy. "I know now for certain," he said, "that this Queen repenteth her marriage—that she hateth him (Darnley) and all his kin. I know that he knoweth himself that he hath a partaker in play and game with him; I know that there are practices in hand, contrived between the father and the son, to come by the crown against her will. I know that if that take effect which is intended, David (Riccio), with the consent of the King, shall have his throat cut within these ten days. Many things more grievous and worse than these are brought to my ears; yea, of things intended against her own person, which, because I think better to keep secret than write to Mr. Secretary (Cecil), I speak not of them but now to your Lordship." [1]

There was only one way with vengeful Scotsmen in the sixteenth century. David's days, as Randolph predicted, were numbered, though he had several weeks longer to live than Randolph reckoned. "Marry!" exclaimed Lethington—now discredited and practically superseded by Riccio—in a letter to Cecil in the same month, "I see no certain way unless we strike at the very root—you know where it lieth, and so far as my judgment can reach, the sooner all things be packed up the less danger there is of inconvenience." [2] The recognition of murder as a warrantable political instrument in those days could never be better illustrated than in the next letter to Cecil, forewarning him of the approaching tragedy, and enclosing copies of the conditions by which, among other things, Darnley was to obtain the Crown Matrimonial, and the rebel Lords were to be pardoned and restored to their estates:

THE EARL OF BEDFORD AND THOMAS RANDOLPH TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

BERWICK, *March* 6, 1566.

I have heard of late of a great attempt to be made by such advice as the Lord Darnley hath gotten of

[1] Keith's "Church and State in Scotland," Vol. II., p. 402.
[2] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 255.

some noblemen in Scotland, whereby he thinketh to advance himself unto that which by other means he cannot attain unto, whereby his credit may be the more in his country, and be able to do more than to bear the bare name of a King, not having the due honour pertaining to such a dignity; by which means also the noblemen now out of their country may be restored. And now at this present, being fully informed by Mr. Randolph of his and their whole intent, the same being now at the point to be put in execution, I thought good to use Mr. Randolph's hand in the writing of this letter, because I would not that any of mine own should be privy to any part of that which we find very needful to be kept very secret, having both of us promised upon our honours that no other shall be privy hereunto but the Queen's Majesty, my Lord of Leicester, and you Mr. Secretary. The matter is this—you have heard of the discords and jars between this Queen and her husband, partly as she has refused him the Crown Matrimonial, partly for that he hath assured knowledge of such usage of herself as altogether is intolerable to be borne—which if it were not over well known, we would both be very loth to think that it could be true. To take away this occasion of slander, he is himself determined to be at the apprehension and execution of him, whom he is able manifestly to charge with the crime, and to have done him the most dishonour that can be to any man—much more being as he is.

We need not more plainly to describe the person—you have heard of the man of whom we mean. As to the other thing he desires, the Crown Matrimonial: what is agreed on between him and the noblemen, you shall see by the copies of the conditions—of which Mr. Randolph assureth me to have seen the principals and taken the copies written with his own hand. The time of execution and performance of these matters is before the parliament, as near as it is. To this are privy in Scotland, these — Argyll, Morton, Boyd, Ruthven and Lethington—in England,

these—Murray, Rothes, Grange, myself and the writer hereof. If persuasions to cause the Queen to yield to these matters do no good, they purpose to proceed we know not in what sort. If she make any power at home, she shall be withstood, and kept from all other counsel than her own nobility: if she seek foreign aid, our sovereign shall be sued to accept his and their defence on reasonable offers to her contentment. Knowing the certainty of these things, we thought it our duty to utter the same to you, Mr. Secretary, to make declaration thereof as shall seem best to your wisdom.

Enclosed:

(1) (Bond by the Lords to Darnley).

"Certain articles to be fulfilled by Archibald Earl of Argyll, James Earl of Murray, Alexander Earl of Glencairn, Andrew Earl of Rothes, Robert Lord Boyd, Andrew Lord Ochiltree and their complices,[1] to our noble and mighty Prince Henry, King of Scotland, husband to our sovereign Lady: which articles the said persons offer with most humility lowliness, and service to the said noble Prince, for whom to God they pray with long life and good succession of his body."

(1) They bind themselves as true subjects to support him in all his *lawful and just* actions, to be friends to his friends, and enemies to his enemies, etc. (2) At the next parliament after their return, they shall consent to his getting the Crown Matrimonial for life, and take his part against all opposers. (3) They shall maintain his just title to the crown failing the succession of their sovereign lady, and slay or extirpate all such as usurp the same. (4) To maintain the religion established by the Queen after her arrival, and assist and maintain the same by help of the said noble Prince against all gainsayers. (5) As they are become his true subjects, they shall spare neither life nor death in setting forward his honour *according to the word of God.* (6) Labour with the Queen of England for his mother and brother; and (7) pro-

[1] The list is misleading, as the Bond itself, which is printed from the original in the "Miscellany of the Maitland Club" (1843), bears the signatures only of Murray, Rothes, Ochiltree, Kirkcaldy, John Wishart of Pitarro, and James Haliburton of Pitcur.

cure her support for himself against all foreign princes. *Subscribed, James, Archibald, etc.*

Whatsoever you find written in Roman[1] *hand is added to these Articles by the Lords.*

(2) Articles by Darnley:

"Certain articles to be fulfilled by our noble and mighty Prince Henry, King of Scotland, husband to our sovereign lady, of his Majesty's mere mercy and clemency, to *the six Lords in No.* (1) and their friends in England.

Promising (1) to obtain their remission, (2) stop their forfeiture, (3) restore their lands, etc., (4) support them in the exercise of the reformed religion, and (5) maintain them as a good master should.

Subscribed,[2]
HENRY R.

Previously to the signing of the bond by Darnley and the exiled Lords a deed of association to slay the favourite as an enemy of the State was entered into by Darnley, Ruthven, Morton—whose seals as Chancellor had just been taken from him, to be added, as was suspected, to Riccio's increasing honours[3]—Argyll, Boyd, and Lethington. That deed was signed on March 1. "This is the very truth," wrote Morton and Ruthven to Cecil afterwards, when the full measure of Darnley's cowardly betrayal was realised:

The King having conceived a deadly hatred against one David Riccio, Italian, did a long time ago move his ally, Lord Ruthven, that he could no way endure the misbehaviour and offences of David, and that he might be forfeit by him and other nobles to see him executed according to his demerits. After due deliberation, Lord Ruthven communicated this, the King's mind, to Earl Morton, Chancellor, and they deeply considering the justice of his desire, in respect of the manifold misbehaviours and misdeeds of the said David Riccio, tending so manifestly to the great prejudice of the King and Queen's Majesties, and the

[1] So Randolph styles his Court hand, indicated here by italics.
[2] In Randolph's "Roman" hand.
[3] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 264.

whole estate of that realm and common weal, he not ceasing to abuse daily his great credit, to the subversion of the religion, the justice of the realm, and ancient laws and governments thereof, as is notoriously known to all Scotland, and more particularly to us, by reason of our continual versing in Court among the estates: upon the considerations aforesaid found good to follow the King's determination anent the aforesaid execution, and for divers considerations were moved to hasten the same—especially considering the approaching of the parliament, wherein determination was taken to have ruined the whole nobility that then were banished in this realm, and likewise a great number that then were resident within the realm: whereon we saw would follow the subversion of religion, and the mutual intelligence and amity. To which enterprise the most honest and most worthy were easily induced to approve and fortify the King's deliberation in the premises: howbeit in action and manner of execution, more was followed of the King's advice kindled by an extreme choler, than we deliberated to have done. And now, albeit through facility of youth he be induced to dissimulate, yet we have enough for us to verify whatsoever here we have most truly written, and passed in very deed. We do not fear rigour of law, if justice be uprightly ministered and not after affection. Our consciences bear us record, that in obeying the King's command (as his handwriting will verify) we have acted for the weal of him and our sovereign, and preservation of the state, safety of religion, and many noble men and innocent lives joined therewith, and doubt not but your honour will not, so far as in you lies, suffer us well, but on the contrary as beseems a godly minister, move her Majesty to extend her clemency to us as accustomed.[1]

Many accounts have survived of that night of crime in Holyrood Palace on Saturday, March 9, when Riccio was done to death almost in the presence of the Queen. Mary's

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., pp. 270-1.

own version of the tragedy is contained in her letter to Archbishop Beaton in Paris:

MARY STUART TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW.

[*Strickland's "Letters of Mary Queen of Scots."*]

Upon the 9th day of March, we being at even, about seven hours, in our cabinet, at our supper, sociated with our sister the Countess of Argyll, our brother the Commendator of Holyrood House,[1] the laird of Creich, [Beaton,] Arthur Erskine, and certain others our domestic servitors, in quiet manner, especially by reason of our indisposition, being counselled to sustain ourselves with flesh, having then passed almost to the end of seven months in our birth, the King, our husband, came to us in our cabinet, and placed himself beside us at our supper. The Earl of Morton and Lord Lindsay, with their assisters, armed in warlike manner, to the number of eighteen persons, occupied the whole entry of our palace of Holyrood House, so that, as they believed, it was not possible for any person to escape forth of the same. In that mean time, the Lord Ruthven, armed in like manner, with his accomplices, took entry perforce in our cabinet, and there seeing our secretary, David Riccio, among our other servants, declared he had to speak with him. In this instant, we required the King our husband if he knew anything of that enterprise, who denied the same. Also, we commanded the Lord Ruthven, under the pain of treason, to avoid him forth of our presence; he [Riccio] then for refuge took safeguard, (having retired him behind our back,) but Ruthven, with his accomplices, cast down our table upon ourself, put violent hands on him, struck him over our shoulder with hangers, one part of them standing before our face with bended daggs [cocked pistols], most cruelly took him out of our cabinet, and at the entry of our chamber gave him fifty-six strokes with whinyards and swords. In doing whereof we

[1] Lord Robert Stuart, one of the natural sons of James V., and brother to the Earl of Murray. The Countess of Argyll was Mary's half-sister, being one of the natural daughters of James V.

DAVID RICCIO
From a contemporary picture

were not only struck with great dread, but also, by sundry considerations, were most justly induced to take extreme fear of our life. After this deed, immediately, the said Lord Ruthven, coming again into our presence, declared "how they and their accomplices were highly offended with our proceedings and tyranny, which was not to them tolerable; how we were abused by the said David, whom they had actually put to death, namely, in taking his counsel for maintenance of the ancient religion, debarring of the Lords who were fugitives, and entertaining of amity with foreign princes and nations with whom we were confederate, putting also upon council of the Lords Bothwell and Huntly, who were traitors, and with whom he [Riccio] associated himself; that the Lords banished in England were that morn to resort to us, and would take plain part with them in our controversy, and that the King was willing to remit them their offences." We all this time took no less care of ourselves than for our counsel and nobility, to wit, the Earls Huntly, Bothwell, Atholl, Lords Fleming and Livingstone, Sir James Balfour, and certain others, our familiar servitors, against whom the enterprize was concerted, as well as for David, and namely, to have hanged Sir James: yet, by the providence of God, the Earls of Bothwell and Huntly escaped at a back window by some cords; the conspirators took some fear, and thought themselves disappointed in their enterprize. The Earl of Atholl and Sir James Balfour, by some other means, with the Lords Fleming and Livingstone, obtained deliverance.

The provost and town of Edinburgh, having understood this tumult in our palace, caused ring their common bell, came to us in great number, and desired to have seen our presence and communed with us, and to have known our welfare; to whom we were not permitted to give answer, being extremely menaced by their Lords, who in our face declared, "if we desired to have spoken them, they should cut us in collops, and cast us over the walls."

Our brother the Earl of Murray, that same day at even, accompanied by the Earl of Rothes, Pitarrow, Grange, and others, came to us, and, seeing our state, was moved with natural affection towards us; upon the morn he assembled the enterprizers of the late crime and such of our rebels as came with him. In their council they thought it most expedient that we should be warded in our castle of Stirling, there to remain till we had approved in parliament all their wicked enterprizes, established their religion, and given to the King the crown matrimonial and the whole government of our realm, or else by all appearance prepared to put us to death, or to detain us in perpetual captivity.

That night we declared our state to the King our husband, certifying him how miserably he would be handled, if he permitted the Lords to prevail, and how unacceptable it would be to other princes our confederates, in case he altered the religion. By this persuasion he was induced to condescend to the purpose taken by us, and to retire in our company to Dunbar. We, being minded to have gotten ourselves relieved of this detention, desired, in quiet manner, the Earls of Bothwell and Huntly to have prepared some way whereby we might have escaped; who not doubting therein, at the least taking no regard to hazard their lives in that behalf, devised that we should have come over the walls of the palace in the night upon chairs, which they had in readiness to that effect soon after.

I beseech you, as soon as this shall come to hand, to communicate the contents to the Court, to prevent false reports from being circulated; and do not fail to impart it to the ambassadors.

A similar account was sent by Mary to the King and the Queen-Mother of France, which is printed in full in the Venetian Calendar. Its most important variation is in the additional details of the sequel to the tragedy, when she talked her despicable husband over to her side in order to

effect her escape and plan her revenge, and caused him to publish the proclamation which made his name a byword for treachery and cowardice:

Our fear for our personal safety still continuing, we made the King comprehend our position, and how he himself might be reduced to great straits if the conspirators prevailed against us, and how foreign potentates, and particularly our own allies, would be displeased if we made any change as to religion. Upon these considerations the King decided to depart with us and in our company for Dunbar, whither we went the same night, being attended by the Captain of our Guard and by Arthur Erskine our squire, and two other persons only. We had already resolved to liberate ourselves from this captivity, and had secretly communicated with the Earls of Bothwell and Huntly to devise some mode for so doing; and these noblemen, being without fear, and willing to sacrifice their lives to this end, arranged to let us down at night from the walls of our palace in a chair by ropes and other devices which they had prepared. Immediately after our arrival at Dunbar many of our nobility, desirous of our welfare, such as the Earls of Huntly, Bothwell, Marischal, Atholl, and Caithness, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, with many of their relatives and friends, the Lords of Hume, Yester, Sempill, and an infinity of others, hastened to our assistance, and by their advice we issued proclamations commanding our subjects to arm in our favour; and the conspirators having heard these events, the Earl of Glencairn, as being innocent of the last outrage, came to us by our permission, and received our pardon. The Earl of Rothes did the same. The Earls of Murray and Argyll sent several messengers to seek our favour similarly to these noblemen. For divers reasons, and with the advice of our nobility and Council who were with us, we have granted them our pardon, on condition that they will in no way maintain relations with the last conspira-

tors, and will retire to Argyll for such a period of time as may seem good to us, it appearing to us too dangerous to allow so many persons in arms against us; and knowing the promises which have already passed between the King and them, and being aware of the bodily indisposition of our person, and not being in robust health, and compelled, in order to show resistance to our enemies, not to endanger greatly our affairs, we remained five days at Dunbar, and thence returned to Edinburgh, accompanied numerously by our subjects.

The last conspirators, with their adherents, have retired from Edinburgh, and some of them are now fugitives. We have caused all their possessions to be seized, and we have determined to proceed against them with the utmost vigour. To this end we are satisfied that the King our husband will act in unison with us, because he has declared in the presence of the Lords of our Privy Council his innocence of the last outrage upon us, and that he never either advised or approved it; and he has excused himself on the ground that he only, at the persuasion and entreaty of the last conspirators, and without our knowledge and opinion, had consented that the Earls of Murray, Glencairn, and other persons, by whom we had been offended, should return to the kingdom. The King's meaning will be understood by his declaration which, according to his request, will be published in all parts of the kingdom.

Darnley's declaration may be left to speak for itself:

EDINBURGH, *March* 20, 1566.

Forasmuch as divers seditious and wicked persons have maliciously sowed rumours, bruits, and privy whisperings against the lieges of our Realm, slanderously and irreverently backbiting the King's Majesty, as that the late conspiracy and cruel murder committed in presence of the Queen's Majesty, and treasonable detaining of her Majesty's most noble

person in captivity, was done at his commandment, by his counsel, assistance, and approbation, his Grace, or the removing of the evil opinion which the good subjects may be induced to conceive through such false reports and seditious rumours, hath, as well to the Queen's Majesty, as in the presence of the Lords of Secret Council, plainly declared upon his honour, fidelity, and the word of a Prince, that he never knew of any part of the said treasonable conspiracy whereof he is slanderously and falsely traduced, nor never counselled, commanded, consented, assisted, or approved the same. Thus far only his Highness oversaw himself into, that at the enticement and persuasion of the said late conspirators, his Grace, without the Queen's Majesty's advice and knowledge, consented to the bringing home out of England of the Earls of Murray, Glencairn, Rothes, and other persons being there, with whom her Highness was offended; which he hath in no wise denied; and this is the simple, sincere, and plain truth to all and sundry to whom it offers, be it made known and manifest by these presents."[1]

The English account of Riccio's murder, and the events preceding and following it, was drawn up for the Privy Council by the Earl of Bedford, Governor of Berwick, and Randolph, whom Mary had lately expelled from Scotland for his dealings with the rebels. This was not unexpected by the Englishman, who showed in a postscript to a letter which he had written some months previously that he fully realised the danger of his post. "It has been twice or thrice discussed whether I be put in some sure place for fear of escape, or guards set on me. I care not for their worst."[2] In the prevailing cheapness of human life he was lucky to find himself in safety at Berwick, writing the following historic dispatch with the Governor, here modernised from Wright's "Queen Elizabeth and her Times," and collated with the text in the Hatfield MSS.

[1] Ellis's "Original Letters," First Series, Vol. II.
[2] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 220.

THE EARL OF BEDFORD AND THOMAS RANDOLPH TO ELIZABETH'S COUNCIL.

BERWICK, *March* 27, 1566.

May it please your Honours, hearing of so many matters as we do, and finding such variety in the reports, we have much ado to discern the verity, which maketh us the slower, and lother to put anything in writing, to the intent we would not that your Honours, and by you, the Queen's Majesty our sovereign, should be advertised but of the very truth as near as we can possibly. To this end we thought good to send up Captain Carew, who was in Edinburgh at the time of the last attempt, who spake there with divers, and after that with the Queen's self and her husband. Conform to that which we have learned by other, and know by his reports, we find the same confirmed by the parties' self that were there present, and assisters unto those that were executers of the act.

This we find for certain, that the Queen's husband, being entered into a vehement suspicion of David, that by him something was committed which was most against the Queen's honour, and not to be borne of his part, first communicated his mind to George Douglas, who finding his sorrows so great, sought all the means he could to put some remedy to his grief, and communicating the same unto my Lord Ruthven by the King's commandment, no other way could be found than that David should be taken out of the way. Wherein he was so earnest, and daily pressed the same, that no rest could be had until it was put in execution. To this it was found good that the Lord Morton and Lord Lindsay should be made privy, to the intent that they might have their friends at hand if need required, which caused them to assemble so many as they thought sufficient against the time that this determination of theirs should be put in execution, which was determined the 9th of this instant, three days before the Parliament should begin, at what time the said lords were assured that the Earls Argyll, Murray, Rothes, and their accomplices,

should have been forfeited, if the King could not be persuaded through this means to be their friends, who for the desire he had that his intent should take effect the one way, was content to yield without all difficulty to the other, with this condition, that they would give their consents that he might have the Crown Matrimonial.

He was so impatient to see these things he saw, and were daily brought to his ears, that he daily pressed the said Lord Ruthven that there might be no longer delay; and to the intent it might be manifest to the world that he approved the act, was content to be at the doing of it himself. Upon the Saturday, at night, near unto eight of the clock, the King conveyeth himself, the Lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and two other, through his own chamber, by the privy stairs up to the Queen's chamber, joining to which there is a cabinet about twelve feet square, in the same a little low reposing bed, and a table, at which there were sitting at the supper the Queen, the Lady Argyll, and David, with his cap upon his head. Into the cabinet there cometh in the King and Lord Ruthven, who willed David to come forth, saying that there was no place for him. The Queen said that it was her will. Her husband answered that it was against her honour.

The Lord Ruthven said that he should learn better his duty, and offering to have taken him by the arm, David took the Queen by the "blyghts" of her gown, and put himself behind the Queen, who would gladly have saved him, but the King having loosed his hands, and holding her in his arms, David was thrust out of the cabinet through the bed-chamber, into the chamber of presence, where were the Lord Morton and Lord Lindsay, who intending that night to have reserved him, and the next day to hang him, so many being about them that bore him evil will, one thrust him into the body with a dagger, and after him a great many other, so that he had in his body about sixty wounds. It is told for certain that the King's own dagger was left sticking in him; whether he struck him or not we cannot know for certain. He was not slain in the

Queen's presence as was said, but going down the stairs out of the chamber of presence.

There remained a long time with the Queen, her husband and the Lord Ruthven. She made, as we hear, great intercession that he should have no harm. [1] She blamed greatly her husband, that was the author of so foul an act. It is said that he did answer, that David had more company of her body than he, for the space of two months, and therefore, for her honour and his own contentment, he gave his consent that he should be taken away. "It is not," said she, "the woman's part to seek the husband, and therefore in that the fault was his own." He said, that when he came, she either would not, or made herself sick. "Well," saith she, "you have taken your last from me, and your farewell." [2] "That were

[1] The pen is struck through this portion (from "blamed" to "farewell"), and a note in the margin runs: "It is our parts rather to pass this matter with silence than to make any such rehearsal of things committed unto us in secret, but we know to whom we write, and leave all things to your wisdom."

[2] Ruthven's account, written at the end of the following month, gives the following version of these recriminations: "My lord," said the Queen, "why have you caused to do this wicked deed to me, considering that I took you from low estate, and made you my husband? What offence have I given you that you should do me such shame?" The King answered, "I have good reason for me, for since yonder fellow David came in credit and familiarity with your Majesty, you neither regarded me, entertained me, nor trusted me after your wonted fashion, for every day before dinner you were wont to come to my chamber, and passed the time with me, and this long time you have not done so; and when I came to your Majesty's chamber, you bare me little company except David had been the third person; and after supper your Majesty used to sit up at the cards with the said David till one or two after midnight; and this is the entertainment that I have had of you this long time. Her Majesty answered, that it was not a gentlewoman's duty to come to her husband's chamber, but rather the husband to come to the wife's. The King answered, "How came you to my chamber in the beginning, and ever till within these six months, that David fell into familiarity with you? Or am I failed in any sort in my body? Or what disdain have you of me? Or what offences have I done you that you should coy me at all times alike, seeing I am willing to do all things that becometh a good husband? Suppose I be of mean degree, yet am I your husband, and you promised me obedience at the day of your marriage, and that I should be participant and equal with you in all things; but you have used me otherwise, by the persuasion of David." The Queen answered, "My lord, all the offence that is done me, you have the wight thereof, for the which I shall be your wife no longer, nor lie with you any more, and shall never like well till I cause you as sorrowful a heart as I have at this present."

pity," said the Lord Ruthven; "he is your Majesty's husband, and you must yield duty to each other." "Why may not I," saith she, "leave him as well as your wife did her husband? Other have done the like."

The Lord Ruthven said that she was lawfully divorced from her husband, and for no such cause as the King found himself grieved. Besides, this man was mean, base, enemy to the nobility, shame to her, and destruction to her Grace's country. "Well," saith she, "it shall be dear blood to some of you, if his be spilt." "God forbid," saith the Lord Ruthven, "for the more your Grace show yourself offended, the world will judge the worse." Her husband this time speaketh little. Her Grace continually weepeth. The Lord Ruthven being evil at ease and weak, calleth for a drink, and saith, "This I must do with your Majesty's pardon," and persuadeth her in the best sort he could, that she would pacify herself.

In this meantime there rose a commotion in the Court, to pacify which there went down the Lord Ruthven, who went straight to the Earls Huntly, Bothwell, and Atholl, to quiet them, and to assure them from the King that nothing was intended against them. They, notwithstanding, taking fear when they heard that my Lord of Murray would be there the next day, and Argyll meet them, Huntly and Bothwell got out of a window and so departed. Atholl had leave of the King, with Flyske and Landores, (who was lately called Leslie, the parson of Oune,) to go where they would; and being conveyed out of the Court by the Lord Lethington, they went that night to such places where they thought themselves in most safety.

Before the King left talk with the Queen, in the hearing of the Lord Ruthven, she was content that he should lie with her that night. We know not how he let himself be overcome by sloth, but came not at her, and excused himself to his friends that he was so sleepy that he could not wake in due time. There were in this company two that came in with

the King, the one Andrew Car of Fawsinside, who, the Queen saith, would have stricken her with a dagger, and one Patrick Balentyne, brother to the justice clerk, who also, her Grace saith, offered a dagge [pistol] against her body with the cock down. We have been earnestly in hand with the Lord Ruthven to know the verity, but he assureth us of the contrary. There were in the Queen's chamber the Lord Robert, Arthur Erskine, one or two other. These at the first offering to make some defence, the Lord Ruthven drew his dagger, and few more weapons than that were not drawn nor seen in her Grace's presence, as we are by the said Lord assured.

The next day, about seven of the clock after noon, there arrived the Earl of Murray and the others with him that were in England. He spake immediately with the King, and straight after with the Queen. She said that he was welcome, and laid the fault upon other, that he was out of the country, required of him to be a good subject, and she would be to him as he ought.[1] The next day he spake with her again, as also my Lord of Morton and Lord Ruthven, who exhorted her humbly to cast off her care, to study for that which might be her safety, weal, and honour, promising for their parts obedience and service as became

[1] According to Melville's "Memoirs" (p. 150), the harassed Queen threw herself into the arms of her half brother on his arrival, kissing him, and declaring that, "if he had been at home he would not have suffered her to have been so uncourteously handled." Both, adds Melville, were moved to tears. Ruthven's account describes how the returned lords made their speeches "sitting down on their knees," adding, "And after her Majesty had heard all, her answer was that it was not unknown to the lords that she was never blood-thirsty, nor greedy upon their lands or goods since her coming into Scotland, nor would be upon theirs that were present, but would remit the whole number that were banished, or were at the last deed or death of David, and put all things in oblivion as if they had never been, and so caused the said earls and lords to rise on their feet, and afterwards her Majesty desired them to make their own securities, and she would subscribe the same. Then her Majesty took the King by the hand, and the Earl of Murray by the other, and walked in the said outer-chamber by the space of an hour, and then passed into her inner-chamber, when she and the King appointed that all they that were on the King's part should go forth of its place."

true and faithful subjects. She accepted their sayings in good worth, willed them to devise what might be for their security, and she would subscribe it. She sendeth for the Lord of Lethington, and in gentle words deviseth with him that he would persuade that she might have her liberty, and the guard that was about her removed, seeing that she had granted their requests. He found it very good, and not many of the Lords, as we hear, that misliked it. All men being gone to their lodgings, and no suspicion taken of any that either she would depart, or not perform the promise to the Lords, about twelve of the clock at night she conveyed herself a private way out of the house; she, her husband, and one gentlewoman came to the place where Arthur Erskine and the captain of her guard kept the horses, and so rode her ways behind Arthur Erskine until she came to Seton. There she took a horse to herself and rode to Dunbar to the castle, whither resorted unto her the Lords Huntly and Bothwell, and so divers of the whole country.

The Lords being thus disappointed, sent the next day the Lord Sempill to her Grace with request from their Lordships unto her Majesty to fulfil her promise, to sign that bill for their security. He was deferred two or three days, until such time as divers of the Lords (of the which the Earl of Glencairn was the first, the Earl of Rothes next, and some other) by secret means had gotten their remission and were fully restored, who breaking from the rest, as their force diminished, so did her Grace's increase, and where before they were able to have at the castle defended themselves, they were fain to seek their own safety.

To this also the slow coming of the Earl of Argyll was a great impediment, who being not yet come to Edinburgh, did put no small doubt lest he would follow the same way which Glencairn and Rothes had done. The Earl Morton and Lord Ruthven finding themselves left by the King for all his fair promises,

bonds, and subscriptions, and seeing the others fall from them, (saving the Earl of Murray, and such as were of the last enterprise,) thought best to provide for themselves, and so every one of them took their several way, where they think that they may be most at ease or surety. Their names we send herewith to your Honour. The Earl of Argyll being come to Lithgow, my Lord of Murray with his friends go to him. About the time that the Lords left Edinburgh, the Queen departed from Dunbar towards it. She entered the town with about three thousand persons, all men being commanded to attend upon her Grace at her pleasure. The noblemen and best able remain yet there. She lodgeth not in the Abbey, but in a house in the town, in the High Street, and yesterday removed to one other nearer the castle and larger. The next day after her arrival, she sendeth the parson of Flyske to Lithgow, with conditions to my Lords Argyll, Murray, and the rest, which being by them found sufficient for their safety, with restitution to their lands and goods, have accepted, with these restraints, not for a space to come near the Court, nor yet to be suitors for those that committed the last attempt. The King hath utterly forsaken them, and protested before the Council that he was not consenting to the death of David, and that it is sore against his will: he will neither maintain them nor defend them. Whereupon the next day public declaration was made at the market cross of Edinburgh, the 21st of this instant, against the Lords, declaring the King's innocence in that matter.

As many as were at this act or of counsel are summoned to underlie the law upon Friday next. Divers of them are out of the country, as my Lord of Morton, the Lord Ruthven, his son, and Andrew Car. The Lord of Lindsay is either with my Lord of Argyll or within the Lord Atholl's bounds, where also it is said that my Lord of Lethington is, of whom we hear that he hath accepted a charge from the Queen to enter himself prisoner in Inverness. He was partici-

pant of this last counsel, discovered by the King's self, as all the rest were that he knew. Drumlanrig is in the castle of Edinburgh, a son of his in the Blackness, the Laird of Wetherborne, a Hume of good living, in Dunbar, of which now we hear that my Lord of Bothwell hath the keeping, and is entered into all the lands that the Lord of Lethington had in possession. The parson of Flyske is made a clerk of the register: where himself is we know not; his wife put out of the house, and it spoiled, given in prey to the soldiers. Who shall be secretary we know not, but the Lord of Lethington having such friendship with my Lord of Atholl, is thought that he shall do well enough. . . . The Queen hath caused a band to be made, and will that all men that are friends to any of those that were privy to David's death shall subscribe to pursue them and do their uttermost to apprehend them and bring them to the place of justice. Some have subscribed, others have refused, and as we hear, that is the cause of the imprisonment of Drumlanrig and his son, who came to the town two days after the death of David.

Of the great substance he had, there is much spoken. Some say in gold to the value of two thousand pounds sterling. His apparel was very good; as it is said, fourteen pair of velvet hose. His chamber was well furnished—armour, daggs, pistolets, harquebuses, twenty-two swords. Of all this nothing was spoiled, nor lacking, save two or three daggs. He had the custody of all the Queen's letters, which all were delivered unlooked upon. We hear of a jewel that he had hanging about his neck of some price that cannot be heard of. He had upon his back, when he was slain, a nightgown of damask, furred, with a satin doublet, and hose of russet velvet.

. . . We have no farther at this time to write unto your Honours, saving we hear for certain that the Earl of Lennox is commanded from the Court, in what sort or whither yet we know not. We see no force intended by the subjects towards their Sovereign, but a patient

will to endure this fortune until it pleases God to make it better. The Lord Ruthven is very sick and keepeth most his bed.

Thus having long troubled you, for the desire we have in all things to satisfy you, though we had good will in some things to have been sparer, in special for the speeches between the Queen and her husband, we take our leave.

Your Honour's most assured,

F. Bedford.
Tho. Randolph.

That Mary, so near to the birth of the future James VI., survived the shock of those appalling days speaks volumes for her indomitable spirit. If it be true, as recorded in Herries' "Memoirs," that she wiped her eyes after hearing that Riccio was indeed dead, and declared, "No more tears; I will think upon revenge," she certainly went the right way to work, so far, at least, as Darnley was concerned. Having practised her blandishments so successfully as to make him ready to betray his confederates, and help her escape from their clutches, she sent a timely word of warning to Elizabeth, hinting that, if she thought of helping her traitors, there were other princes ready to assist her against her "said rebels and maintainers":

MARY STUART TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

Dunbar, *March* 15, 1566.

Did we not know the power of the evil and wrongous report made to you by our rebels, we could not think nor almost bear with the strange devised letter which we lately have received of you, by this bearer your servant; marvelling greatly how ye can be so inclined rather to believe and credit the false speaking of such unworthy to be called subjects, than us, who are of your own blood, and who also never thought nor made you occasion to use such rigour and menacing of us as ye do, through the persuasion of those who afterwards ye will know assuredly never

to have deserved your favour nor assistance to their wicked and mischievous enterprises: who in like manner have offered me oftentimes to deceive your good self if I would have accepted such condition of them, but I would never do it. And, moreover, ye willing us to remit their offences that no prince of the world should do, but rather offer help to their punishment. Whereas ye write to us that we in our former letters blamed them that kept not promises, but think one thing, and do another, we would ye should remember the same—for ye will find us to be handled so by them, to whom we have always done as we have spoken, and they to us the contrary, as daily we have experience.

Last of all, some of our subjects and Council have manifestly shown what men they are—as first have taken our house, slain our most special servant in our own presence, and thereafter held our proper person captive treasonably, whereby we were constrained to escape straightly about midnight out of our Palace of Holyrood House, to the place where we are for the present, in the greatest danger, fear of our lives, and evil estate that ever princes on earth stood in, as your servant can show and report you the whole at length. Which handling no Christian Prince will allow, nor yourself we believe—desiring you earnestly to let us understand if ye mind to help them against us as ye boast to do; for we are assured, and not so unprovided, but other princes that will hear of our estate, considering the same, will favour us so mickle as to help and support us (if need be) to defend us and our realm against our said rebels and their maintainers —were it only for example to their own subjects. Praying you therefore to remember your honour and our nearness of blood, and the Word of God which commands that all princes should favour and defend the just actions of other princes as well as their own. We thought to have written this to you with our own hand, for the better understanding of our meaning—but of truth we are so tired and evil at ease, through

riding twenty miles in five hours of the night, and the frequent sickness and evil disposition, by the occasion of our child, that we could not.

Elizabeth was at Greenwich and herself far from well when this letter was written. "I have not seen her since she left here," wrote the Spanish Ambassador at her Court on March 11; "but although she is better now, she is so thin that a doctor who has seen her tells me that her bones may be counted, and that a stone is forming in her kidneys. He thinks she is going into a consumption, although doctors sometimes make mistakes, especially with young people." Which suggests that Elizabeth bore her thirty-three years uncommonly well for the sixteenth century, when people generally regarded themselves as worn out at an age which the present generation likes to imagine as still the spring-time of life. Elizabeth herself affected to joke about her advancing age when Rambouillet, the French envoy to Scotland, sent by Catherine de' Medici again to dangle Charles IX. before her eyes, thought to tempt her Grace by praising his young King's looks and lustiness. "Think you," she replied, "it would be a good match for so young a King to wed an old woman like me?"—fishing, probably, for the obvious compliment rather than with any idea of being taken too literally.

This was in February, when Mary's star was in the ascendant, and Elizabeth hardly knew what to do for the best, not only in view of this, but also, and perhaps more e pecially, in view of the Catholic League, which at this time flurried England's diplomacy. The League was referred to specifically by Randolph in his letter to Cecil from Edinburgh on February 7, 1566: "There was a bond lately devised in which the late Pope [Pius IV., who died on December 9, 1564], the Emperor, the King of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, with divers Princes of Italy and the Queen Mother [of France] were suspected to be of the same confederacy, to maintain Papistry throughout Christendom. The bond was sent out of France by Thornton, and is subscribed by this Queen."[1] Bedford sent Cecil a similar report a week later, adding,

[1] Wright's "Queen Elizabeth and her Times."

however, that Mary had not yet confirmed the Treaty. Father Pollen's "Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots" makes it clear that no such League took definite shape. No record of it remains in the archives of any of the Powers who were supposed to have signed the Treaty. At the same time, with the increasing strength of Catholicism since the Council of Trent, which came to a close at the end of 1563, there is no doubt, as Dr. Law says in his chapter on Mary Stuart in "The Cambridge Modern History," that the idea and the wish were there; and Elizabeth, to that extent, was justified in shaping her policy accordingly. Her Catholic subjects in the North, too, were known to be concentrating all their hopes on the Queen of Scots, and the following story probably never reached Elizabeth's ears, or she would not have sent Mary her friendly messages a few weeks later, as will presently be seen: "The Queen the other day," wrote Bedford to Throckmorton on February 14, "was in a merchant's house in Edinburgh, where was a picture of the Queen's Majesty [Elizabeth], which, when some had said their opinions how like or unlike it was to the Queen's Majesty, 'Nay,' quoth she, 'it is not like her, for I am Queen of England.' . . . I have neither written thereof to my Lord of Leicester, nor yet to Mr. Secretary. Bothwell and Huntly," added Bedford, "refused to go to Mass when the Queen would have had them, whereat I much marvel, for I took Bothwell to have been of no religion. Divers Earls there have been at the Court now this triumphing time, and some have gone to the sermon, and as many of them to the Mass." [1]

Warning messages arrived from abroad as well as from Cecil's ubiquitous spies at home. "The young King and Queen of Scots," wrote Sir Thomas Smith from Paris, "do look for a further and a bigger crown, and have more intelligence and practice in England, and in other realms than you think for. Both the Pope and the King of Spain's hands be in that dish further and deeper than I think you know. The Ambassadors of Spain, Scotland, and the Cardinal of Lorraine be too great in their devices for me to like. The Bishop of Glasgow looks to be

[1] Pepys Manuscripts. Historical MSS. Commission.

a cardinal, and to bring in Popery ere it be long, not only into Scotland, but into England. I have cause to say to you *vigilate!*"[1] The coming and going to Scotland of the Cardinal of Lorraine's envoy, at this time, and the dispatch by Mary of the Bishop of Dunblane to Rome for Papal assistance, gave colour to the rumours of a Catholic League. That the newly-elected Pope, Pius V., favoured a League against England is clear from the letter of Tiepoli, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, who was told by the Pope himself on May 3 that he meant to give as an aid to the Queen of Scots all that he originally designed to spend on Malta, "so that she might prevail over her rebels, who were favoured and inspired by the Queen of England, against whom the Kings of France and Spain ought to league together if they had (as they ought to have) greater regard for things spiritual than things temporal. If they did not make war against her they might at least prohibit commerce with her kingdom, which would be its total ruin."[2] Wholesale slaughter was the simplest way out of Mary's difficulties, according to the cold-blooded suggestions made at this period by the Papal Nuncio, Vincenzo Laureo, Bishop of Mondovi, writing on August 21 from Paris, where he had been compelled to stop on his interrupted journey to the Queen of Scots:

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA.

[Father Pollen's "*Papal Negotiations.*"]

From the Archbishop of Glasgow I learn that the Queen of Scotland referred herself to the Cardinal of Lorraine's decision as regarded the form under which she should apply to the Pope for aid, and that the Cardinal was of opinion that the mission of a Nuncio should be petitioned for simultaneously with the request for the subsidy. This, it was thought, would give the Queen more credit, and would incite his Holiness to grant money with greater liberality and promptitude. To procure such aid for the Queen is

[1] Froude's "History of England."
[2] W. M. Brady's "Episcopal Succession," Vol. II. (omitted in the Venetian Calendar).

regarded by the Cardinal, who is her uncle, as his bounden duty, the more so as it was he who advised and persuaded her to take measures for the confiscation of the property of the rebels, from which proposal ensued that great revolt and danger to the Queen's life.

She is now in a most difficult position, and this because of the suspicions of the Queen of England in the first place. The latter has now new fears arising from the birth of the Prince of Scotland, who is lawful heir to the kingdom of England, and she consequently is bound to encourage the Scottish rebels, and aid them in secret, more efficaciously than ever. But the second and far greater difficulty is the quarrel with the King, her husband. He is an ambitious, inconstant youth, and would like to rule the realm, which was the subject of the plot he hatched a few months back, when he made the aforesaid rebels come secretly to the Court with the purpose of getting himself crowned King, and as has been discovered from the last declaration of the Lord Ruthven, who died lately in England, it was he who got the said rebels to murder poor David Riccio, the Queen's Piedmontese secretary. He wanted all his wife's officials to depend on himself.

Hence has arisen such distrust between him and the Queen, that report says they have not cohabited since the child's birth, to the King's displeasure. He continues still to go to Mass, but, on the other hand, maintains strict friendship and intercourse with the heretical rebels, in order to preserve and increase his credit and authority. This has forced the Queen, in self-defence, to pardon the Earl of Murray, her bastard brother, and the Earl of Argyll, the husband of her bastard sister, and to show such confidence in the heretics, that she has appointed heretics as captains of her body-guard, namely, the Earl of Bothwell and the Laird of Traquair, who command a hundred horse and three hundred foot respectively. The governor of Edinburgh Castle, by name Lord

Erskine, whom the Queen has made Earl of Mar, is also a heretic, though his wife, the governess of the Prince, is a Catholic. Finally, there are persons of influence to be found who foster this division and distrust, in order to enfeeble the kingdom and bring it to ruin.

These difficulties might be obviated if the King of Spain should come, as it is hoped, with a strong force to Flanders, or, as certain persons of weight believe, if justice were executed against six rebels, who were leaders and originators of the late treason against the Queen, and whose deaths would effectually restore peace and obedience in that kingdom. These are the Earls of Murray and Argyll, who now that they are pardoned, as has been said, go on making domestic mischief in the Queen's own household; the Earl of Morton; the Laird of Lethington; Bellenden, Justice Clerk; and James MacGyll, Clerk Register, a man of no family and contriver of all evil. These four, albeit not pardoned, are nevertheless of the King's household, and in his confidence. But he is so fickle that the Queen will find no difficulty in persuading him, by endearments, to consent to this well-deserved act of justice. The King himself (so these *signori* say) could execute it without any disturbance arising, and with the assured hope that afterwards the holy Catholic and Roman religion could soon be restored with ease throughout that kingdom, as no leader of faction would remain. The danger is that the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Queen, in their excessive kindness, would not consent to such an act.

The Queen declined to adopt these sanguinary measures when in due course they were seriously put forward by the Nuncio. According to a contemporary account of Laureo's mission, quoted in Father Pollen's "Papal Negotiations" (p. 405), "Mary answered that she could not stain her hands with the blood of her subjects, and that Elizabeth had begun to show herself a friend." Laureo's mission to urge the Queen of Scots to purge both her own country and England

of heresy, was a forlorn hope from the start. After Darnley's murder he returned to Rome without ever setting foot in Scotland.

A more imminent danger from Cecil's point of view during the early part of this year was that Leicester was again pushing his own suit urgently, and seemingly with fair prospect of success, the Emperor's lukewarmness in the matter of his brother, the Archduke Charles, reducing to despair those who were most in favour of that match—Cecil, Norfolk and Suffolk. Guzman would not believe that Elizabeth was weary of these eternal negotiations. "I do not think anything is more enjoyable to this Queen," he wrote to Philip, "than treating of marriage, although she assures me herself that nothing annoys her more. She is vain, and would like all the world to be running after her, but it will probably end in her remaining as she is, unless she marry Leicester, who is still doing his best to win her."[1] As for the Archduke, she complained to Guzman at the beginning of the year that the Emperor, after delaying his answer so long, should only write doubtfully and undecidedly, raising the questions of the prospective bridegroom's expenditure in England, his religion and his coming:

Respecting the first point, she said the Emperor wrote that no reasonable person would consider it just that while the Archduke was so far away from his own country he should be maintained by it. On the subject of religion he said the Archduke and his household could only continue in his own, and, as regarded his coming, it was neither reasonable nor convenient that a person like his brother should come without some assurance. How could she marry, she said, with a man whom she had to feed, and let the world say she had taken a husband who could not afford to keep himself. She said a great deal about this, to which I replied that the Emperor doubtless did not refer to personal and private expenses, but rather to other expenses which he would have to incur in favour of Englishmen, as he had been given to understand that

[1] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 468.

he would have to maintain a household like your Majesty [Philip II.] did, which would be impossible, and, all such demands as these, could only be answered as the Emperor had done.[1]

So the farce went on, Elizabeth adding to the confusion by flirting with the Earl of Ormond, and sending Leicester off in another fit of jealousy. "He thinks that his absence may bring the Queen to her senses," wrote Guzman on March 18, "and even may cause her to take steps regarding her marriage with him—unless, indeed," he added, with a suspicious after-thought which was probably very near to the truth, "it is all a trick to deceive people who wish that the Queen should marry, and to prevent them from blaming him for the delay."[2] There were good grounds for this suspicion when Leicester paid her a visit in disguise during this temporary absence, returning to Court shortly afterwards with a great escort, and being well received by the Queen. "If she did marry the Earl," she laughingly told the Spanish Ambassador, on another occasion a few weeks previously, "two neighbouring Queens would be wedded in the same way," but she ended the subject by saying that her inclination tended higher. "She is so nimble in her dealing, and threads out of this business in such a way," complained Guzman, "that her most intimate favourites fail to understand her, and her intentions are therefore variously interpreted." When in the course of February he pressed her to declare her decision in the matter of the Archduke, she said:

"How can I take such a step as you say, for if after all the Archduke should not consent, it will look as if I was obliged to marry whoever would have me, he having rejected me, and this is a very delicate thing for a husband." By this she meant that her marriage with Leicester would be looked upon rather as a matter of necessity than of choice—and I could well believe it would be so if what the French Ambassador swore to me were true, namely, that he had been assured by a person who was in a position to know

[1] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 513.
[2] Scottish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 530.

that Leicester had slept with the Queen on New Year's night. The author, however, is a Frenchman, and so strongly adverse to the Archduke's marriage, that he cannot conceal it, and even, as I am told by a person of position, informed the Queen and her Council that if the match were carried through, it would interrupt the friendship with his King, as it would indicate a complete surrender to the House of Austria and Burgundy, and an identification with the interests of your Majesty, with whom his King could not maintain perpetual peace.[1]

It was the French Ambassador who declared that Elizabeth had gone so far as to make Leicester a definite promise of marriage during the preceding winter, and had then begged him to wait till Candlemas, still hesitating when that time came to make up her mind. Leicester's chances fell again as the full force was realised of Mary Stuart's irretrievable folly in marrying beneath her. It was probably no mere bravado on Elizabeth's part when she assured the Spanish Ambassador that "had she been in Mary's place on the night of Riccio's murder she would have taken her husband's dagger, and stabbed him with it":

GUZMAN DE SILVA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth*, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *April* 11, 1566.

. . . The Queen had, hanging from her waist by a gold chain, a portrait of the Queen of Scotland, and . . . asked me what I thought of it, saying that she was very sorry for the Queen's troubles, and for the murder of her Secretary, although she had reason to complain of her for two things. First because she (Elizabeth) had written her a private letter with her own hand, not only offering her aid, but to go, herself, to her, and had made arrangements by which she might send a reply without danger, and she had not answered; and secondly, during the course of the conversation with her husband, in which she pointed out his duty, she told him to recollect that she had not

[1] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., pp. 520-1.

only made him King and her husband, which were great reasons for him to be circumspect, but that she was the Queen, and had the favour of your Majesty and the King of France and the help of the Duke of Florence and other princes, without mentioning Elizabeth's name among them. I told her that she no doubt omitted her name, as her friendship was notorious, she being her nearest neighbour and relative. I did not prolong this conversation, because she no doubt made this remark about your Majesty's favour only to see what I should say.

She afterwards told me that the King of Scotland had sworn to the Queen that he had taken no part in the murder of the Secretary, and that this had been proclaimed throughout the kingdom. She, however, knew to the contrary, because the conspirators had the King's own signature for their acts. There were fifty of them, but she assured me that none of those who had taken refuge in this country after the former rebellion, had any intelligence in this conspiracy. She knew that the Earl of Murray was much attached to the Queen, and wished to serve her, and she thought it strange that the King should repudiate what he had ordered to be done. They had arrested two of those who were present, one of whom had been hanged, and the other beheaded.[1]

Returning to the subject of the disrespect shown to the Queen, she said she, herself, in her place, would have taken her husband's dagger, and stabbed him with it, but she did not want your Majesty to think she would do this to the Archduke if he came.

In their rage and mortification at the King's betrayal, the Scottish fugitives in England—"the Lords of the last attempt," as the conspirators present at the murder of Riccio

[1] To Cecil on April 2 Randolph wrote: "Their King [Darnley] causes daily such as he knoweth, or rather suspected, to have been privy to this late act to be apprehended and imprisoned; as lately three gentlemen that were in Edinburgh, whom only he and no man else knew to be privy, though not present at the doing" (Scottish Calendar). One of the three prisoners was executed.

were sometimes called—sent Mary all the bonds and covenants signed by him, proving, what she doubtless suspected all along, that his declaration of innocence was entirely false. Knowing how determined was Mary to have her revenge, now that she had outwitted them, and regained her power, the betrayed Lords fled, "some one way and some another," Morton, Ruthven, and others seeking their surest safety across the border. "The King is in worst case," wrote Randolph to Cecil on April 4, "for the Queen has no good opinion of his attempting anything against her will, nor the people, that he hath so manifestly denied a matter proved to be done by his commandment, and now himself to be the accuser and pursuer of them that did as he willed them!"[1] Elizabeth told Guzman that if she had been in Mary's place she would never see him again.[2] Deciding to throw her support into the scales against rebellious subjects and unworthy husbands, Elizabeth now sent assurances to this effect by means of Robert Melville, who bore sympathetic messages for the Queen herself, and warnings both to her husband and to her brother to be faithful and true to Mary, or risk her maiden Majesty's sore displeasure. Robert was a brother of the better-known James Melville, the autobiographer, and also in the service of the Scottish Queen, but, like other political Scotsmen, in the pay of the wily Cecil. English politicians, be it added, were no better than Scots where foreign pensions were to be had, though they did not necessarily earn them:

ROBERT MELVILLE TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

April 1, 1566.

At my first coming in these parts I found the Queen at Edinburgh, and those persons, committers of this odious act, are fled. The principal deed-doers are the Earl of Morton and the Lords Ruthven and Lindsay; and there is fled likewise, and in suspicion to be of counsel, Lethington, the Clerk of the Register, and Justice Clerk, with some gentlemen of Loudon their friends. Murray, Argyll, Glencairn and Rothes, and

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., pp. 274-5.
[2] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 545.

the other barons and gentlemen banished before, have obtained favour and pardon. I declared to my Sovereign your Highness's great love and kindness offered in these troubles, and aid in all things to her weal, and disposition to amity, which she accepts in good part, as your Highness will perceive in time. I have likewise opened to the King your good advice to please my Sovereign in all things: and failing of his grace's good behaviour, how evil your Highness will take it. I hope in God no other occasion between their Majesties shall occur. I assured her these offenders will receive nothing but rigour at your hands. I have not met with Murray to advertise him of your Highness's advice in being faithful to my Sovereign, and how ill you will take his action otherwise. I doubt not his trusty service of her.

The royal message, when it reached him, was cold comfort to Murray, who had just written to Bedford and Randolph at Berwick begging Elizabeth's favour for the fugitive noblemen "as his dear friends, and such as for his sake hath given this adventure."[1] Murray could scarcely do less, seeing that they had generously refused to let him share their evil fortunes, though he stood at first on his honour and promise not to desert them in exile, as Randolph told Cecil on March 21. Ruthven and Morton, added Randolph, had written to Murray "no longer to forbear for their cause to agree with the Queen, but, seeing that the others have left both them and him, to endanger himself no further." His character has been so fiercely debated that it is only fair to add the evidence of the Spanish Ambassador in London, for what it is worth in this connexion. Murray was reported by Randolph in the letter just quoted to have returned to the Queen with Argyll. Guzman refers to this in his letter to Philip written ten days later, after describing his interview with Elizabeth at Greenwich:

I took the opportunity of saying to the Queen that I heard Scottish affairs were not going on well. She

[1] Wright's "Queen Elizabeth and her Times," p. 235.

answered me that this was true, and that so many things had happened that it would take her three hours to tell me. She said that the Queen was in great trouble, and she (Elizabeth) had sent a gentleman to her to offer aid, notwithstanding what has passed between them, which was of little moment, and that the Queen of Scotland had now sent an envoy with a very humble letter to her, and she was determined to help her. I answered her that it was a fit office for a great monarch, and it was wise for their own preservation against bad subjects, to help each other. I thought well not to prolong this conversation in order not to arouse her suspicion. I have had no news yet of the arrival of this envoy from Scotland, which, if his coming be true, I am surprised at. I am also astonished that no news has arrived of events, excepting through this Queen and her Ministers. They say the Queen of Scotland has returned from Dunbar, and is now in Edinburgh. The Earl of Murray has seen her and asked her pardon. The Queen received him well, and said she would pardon him if he would swear to oppose those who had taken part in the second conspiracy, which is that for the murder of the Secretary. The Earl replied that he would swear always to serve her loyally, but he could not undertake to oppose those the Queen mentioned, as his conscience would not allow him to do it. And so the matter remains.[1]

Lethington, who was probably an accessory before the fact, though his exact share in the plot will probably never be known, had in the meantime taken refuge at Dunkeld with the Earl of Atholl, to whom he was allied by marriage. "All that belonged to him"—to quote from Randolph's correspondence—was given to Bothwell.[2] It was not to be wondered at, therefore, that Bothwell "had great controversy" with Atholl when that Earl sought to obtain Lethington's pardon of the Queen—"one being his great friend, the other always

[1] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 537.
[2] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 270.

against him. It is quieted," adds Randolph on April 2, "but Atholl still travails for him."[1] Mary professed to be so touched by Elizabeth's unexpected sympathy that she responded with the following letter of diplomatic gratitude, here translated from the original French:

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[Labanoff's "*Lettres de Marie Stuart*," Vol. VII.]

EDINBURGH, *April* 4, 1566.

Madame, my good sister,

You have this time, by the favourable dispatch of Melville, shown that the magnanimity and good nature of your predecessors surpass every other passion in you, and thus placed me under such an obligation that I do not know how I shall ever repay it, unless it be by placing myself and all my power at your disposal, could these be of service to you. But, to put away fine words, which are only needed among those who are not so sure of their friends as they would wish, I will tell you of the condition of affairs, and what I desire of you, with the intimacy which you have been pleased to give me.

When Melville arrived he found me newly escaped from the hands of the greatest traitors the earth has ever borne, in what manner the bearer will, if it please you, make known to you, together with the true account of their conspiracy, of which the least is that if the escaped Lords and other nobles, with your aid or that of any other prince, had succeeded in obtaining possession of my person, they would have cut me in quarters and thrown me beneath the walls. I beseech you to judge what cruel attacks these are against one who can boast of having done them no injury. Now, since then, our good subjects have come to us resolved to spend their lives in the advancement of justice, which is the occasion of our returning to this town in order that we may chastise some of the said inhabitants who are guilty of this enormity. Meantime, I only beseech you to give

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 273.

orders that your governors on the border keep the articles of the peace, and not shelter those who have sought my life, the principals in this fine deed having been as well received as if your purpose had been the worst in the world, and the contrary of what I know. I have also heard that the Earl of Morton has gone to you, and I entreat you to stop and send him back to me, or, at the least, constrain him to return without any safeguard from your country. I am assured that it is not necessary for me to go beyond the truth in order to justify myself, for that you would find neither right nor true. I pray you, my good sister, oblige me in these matters, and you may rest assured that I feel so deeply the ingratitude of my subjects that I shall never offend by the same sin. To make firmer our friendship, I pray you, whatever God may send me [in her approaching confinement], to agree to this alliance by acting as godmother; and I hope, if I am restored to health again in this month of July, that you may make your progress, if it be agreeable to you, near to this border as is reported, so that I may go and thank you in person, which, on my faith, I would rather do than anything in the world.

I will not weary you further at this time. Excuse me if I write so ill; for I am so *grosse*, being well advanced in my seventh month, that I cannot stoop, and even so, I am ill with what I do. I therefore kiss my hands to you, Madame, my best sister, and I will pray God that he may give you as much prosperity and as long life as I would desire for myself.

Your very faithful and affectionate
good sister and cousin,
MARY, R.

Two days before this was written Elizabeth, true to her policy of procrastination, sent a letter to Bedford on the border declaring that she would neither acquit nor condemn the conspirators, until she had become fully informed as to their conduct, but insisted that they should move to a distance from the frontier.[1] The fugitives, accordingly,

[1] Froude, Vol. VIII., 1863, . 274.

removed to Newcastle, where Lord Ruthven, happier than some of his accomplices in escaping human vengence, shortly afterwards died. He was desperately ill when he played his grim part in the murder of Riccio, and it was not until the last day of April that he was able to finish his "Narration," which remains the chief original authority for the circumstances connected with the tragedy, and has since been frequently printed. It was about the time of his "Godly departure" that Elizabeth, deeming it necessary to throw herself more definitely into Mary's interests, wrote to Sir John Foster, Warden of the Middle Marches, ordering the departure of the Scottish fugitives "out of our realm":

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO SIR JOHN FOSTER.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters*," Second Series, Vol. II.]

GREENWICH, *May* 7, 1566.

Trusty and right well beloved, we greet you well. Whereas the Queen of Scots, our good sister, charging the Earl Morton, Lord Ruthven, and others their accomplices, remaining now at our town of Newcastle, not only with the slaughter of her servant David, the Italian, not far from her person, but with certain other treasons towards her own person, hath thereupon made divers earnest means to us, both by messages and letters, to deliver them unto her; and on her behalf the French King hath earnestly required us to deny them any succour: and seeing that we may not indeed maintain the keeping of them within our realm, and yet considering the displeasure that the Queen their Sovereign presently beareth towards them, we would be loath to commit them into her hands during the time of her indignation. We, therefore, would that they should devise of some place out of our realm, where they may provide for their lives and safety until such time as either they may procure their Sovereign's wrath and displeasure to be assuaged towards them, or else that such indifferency of law (as they can reasonably desire) may, according to their doings, be ministered unto them. Wherefore we require you forthwith to repair to them, and thus

much to signify unto them, that thereafter they may take speedy order for some place for their safety out of our realm, where they shall think meetest. This matter you shall as of yourself first declare unto them, as a thing convenient and necessary for them to do: and if they shall not thereupon make their resolution to depart, then you shall signify unto them this our pleasure in our name expressly. And thereof fail you not to see it executed.

The fourth Earl of Morton was descended from noblemen who had been closely allied to English interests in the past. His father, Sir George Douglas of Pittendriech, had been diplomatic leader of the English party in Scotland in the reign of Henry VIII., and his uncle, Archibald Douglas, the sixth Earl of Angus, had married Henry's sister Margaret when Queen-Dowager of Scotland, afterwards living for many years in exile in England under the King's protection. Morton now reminded Cecil of this old association in begging for an extension of time:

THE EARL OF MORTON TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

May 16, 1566.

Yesterday, at the desire of the Warden of the Middle Marches, I rode to his place at Alnwick, where he showed me and the other gentlemen in my company that it was the Queen's pleasure we should depart out of her country with all expedition. Which command we are most willing to obey, but having of late disbursed great sums to the Lord Treasurer of Scotland for the escheats of our rooms and goods, we are unable to depart to any strange country till new furnishing be made to us, which cannot be done without convenient time. I request your honour to move her Majesty to give us license to remain till this be done. The friendship that the noblemen of whom I am descended, found at her father's hand, who entertained them in his country for sixteen years, and never left their cause till he saw them restored to

their inheritance, made me the bolder to draw myself in this my trouble under her Majesty's protection. If your honour could mitigate this her charge, we would feel ourselves greatly indebted. My Lord Ruthven is departed, which is no small grief unto us—and yet the same was so Godly that all men that saw it did rejoice.

Possibly the reminder was not without its effect; more likely his continued stay was winked at owing to Argyll's offer, on condition that the Queen of England would interfere on behalf of the banished Lords and the reformed religion in Scotland, that he would not only become the enemy of Shane O'Neill, who was then the chief source of Elizabeth's troubles in Ireland, but also hinder to the uttermost "all the plans now in hand between his Sovereign and the Papists."[1] In any case, Morton was advised by Elizabeth to "convey himself to some secret place, or else absent himself indeed some otherwhere";[2] and managed to hold out until the end of the year, when, thanks to the joint influence of Murray and Bothwell, he received Mary's pardon.

It was about this date that the newly-elected Pope, Pius V., wrote to congratulate Mary on her escape from her recent dangers, the wildest rumours concerning which had circulated over the Continent. Pius V., as stated on p. 60, was ready to support Mary to the full extent of his means, and readily promised her money in the spring of this year, when she sent the Bishop of Dunblane to Rome to ask for a subsidy. She needed money more than ever now that Philip's contribution had been shipwrecked on the English coast. Her need is more obvious than her sincerity in her assurances to the Pope that she was fighting the cause of God and his Holiness, and "by your help we will leap over the wall":[3]

POPE PIUS V. TO MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

[Father Pollen's "*Papal Negotiations.*"]

To our most dear daughter in Christ, Mary, Queen of Scotland.

When we had learnt what befel you after your

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 286.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 295.
[3] See Nau's "History of Mary Stewart," App., pp. 191–2.

Ambassador, our venerable brother the Bishop of Dunblane, had started, we grieved and rejoiced at the same time. We were struck with horror and great distress when we heard of the danger in which you were, owing to the treason of the heretics, who are rebels both against you and against God. But the joy we felt was greater still when we heard of your noted valour, your greatness of soul, and admirable constancy, which no danger can shake, in your holy resolution of defending the Catholic religion. This was the reason why God graciously delivered you from the hands of the wicked. We congratulate your piety, because by your constancy you have not only won for yourself great and lasting praise from men, but have also deserved a crown more splendid than that borne in a temporal kingdom—that which Christ has promised and prepared in heaven for those who confess Him.

And because we believe that she, by whose endeavours (as many suspect) these wicked plots against your life and throne were contrived, will not desist at a time like this, we immediately wrote, as your uncle, our beloved son, the Cardinal of Lorraine, requested, to our most dear son in Christ, the Catholic King of Spain, earnestly begging him to exert his authority to deter her from such wicked undertakings. We have also exhorted the most Christian King and Queen of the French to lend you aid, so that, when moved by our prayer and exhortations, they might perform with greater zeal a duty which we are sure they would have discharged of their own accord.

Although oppressed by many debts, we have been constrained to give subsidies to the Emperor-Elect and to the Knights of St. John, as war is threatened this summer by land in Austria, by sea in Malta, against the potent foe of the Christian name. We have also been forced to make great disbursements to defend from the hostile fleet the maritime towns that belong to us and to the Roman Church. Nevertheless, we are resolved that we ourselves and our household

should suffer want rather than you. We shall therefore immediately send you money, not indeed as much as we should wish, but as much as we can. We shall also send an apostolic Nuncio, who will in our stead stand by you in your labours, and do for you and yours all that he can.

We exhort you, dearest daughter, to strengthen yourself in the Lord and to be firm. Be sure that not only will Divine assistance not fail, but neither will human aid. The rest you will hear from the letters of the Bishop of Dunblane, a man approved by us no less than by you.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, etc., on the 12th day of May, 1566, the first of our pontificate.

The money was sent, and though only part of it reached the luckless hands for whom it was intended, the Pope doubtless took it into account when, in the light of Mary's conduct in the following year, he thought that she had duped him by her promises, and so abandoned her to her fate. Meantime, Elizabeth, having sent Morton and his accomplices their marching orders in May, was able to inform Mary on June 13 that she had banished the evil subjects of whom she had complained, and was now "*grosse du desire*" for the good news which she hoped her good sister would soon have to send her from Edinburgh. She prayed God to send her a quick and happy delivery.[1] It was this approaching event which necessitated Mary's own policy of conciliation, by which she was brought to tolerate the despicable Darnley, and succeeded in patching up some sort of reconciliation between such inveterate enemies as Murray and Bothwell—two men, as Murray had once told her sister, whom Scotland could not hold at the same time. After the recent tragedy, and in view of the ugly rumours with which it was associated, it was imperative for her own good name, as well as that of her hoped-for son, that the world should see both her husband and her brother supporting her at such a crisis. Darnley afterwards told his father that within a few weeks of the birth of Mary's child, while "Bothwell was all in all," she

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 284.

actually urged him to take a mistress, and, if possible, to make the Earl of Murray "wear horns," adding to her husband, "I assure you I shall never love you the worse."[1] Darnley's word is so worthless, however, that it is impossible to place any reliance upon this anecdote. Mauvissière, passing through London on his way back from Scotland—carrying a letter from Darnley to the French King protesting his innocence of Riccio's murder—was asked by Guzman how Mary and her husband agreed. "He said he thought that suspicion existed between them, and they did not trust each other, but they behaved as husband and wife, and were together, and especially after his arrival the Queen had been more affectionate to her husband."[2] She was also careful to disarm suspicion, in case of her death, by leaving him certain presents when making an inventory of her jewels for bequests. The will itself has never been discovered, though according to the description of it which appears in the "Book of Articles," Darnley was omitted from the list of those appointed to the guardianship of her child and the government of her realm—a list in which Bothwell's name, according to the same authority, figured conspicuously. The inventory which remains as the sole documentary evidence of her testamentary intentions shows that Mary was almost as anxious as her mother had been to die on good terms with everyone. Murray and Argyll were marked for bequests, as well as Bothwell, Huntly, the Earl and Countess of Lennox, the four Maries, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and other French relations. To Darnley she left, among other things, a diamond ring enamelled in red, writing against this entry: "It was with this that I was married; I leave it to the King who gave it me." There was also the significant gift of a jewel, with the marginal note: "To Joseph, which his brother gave me"—Joseph being the brother of David Riccio, whom he had succeeded as Mary's Secretary in April, having accompanied the French Ambassador, Mauvissière, to Scotland, "unknown to any here," as Randolph informed Cecil from Berwick.[3] Guzman referred to Joseph's appoint-

[1] "Lennox Papers," in Andrew Lang's "Mystery of Mary Stuart."
[2] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 549.
[3] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 276.

ment in a note to Philip II. on April 29: "Secretary David was buried in the cemetery, but the Queen had him disinterred, and placed in a fair tomb inside the church, whereat many are offended, and particularly that she has given the office of secretary to David's brother."[1]

Thus matters continued in the troubled state of Scottish affairs until Wednesday, June 19, when Mary Stuart, between ten and eleven o'clock in the morning, was safely delivered of the son who was so soon destined to become James VI. There were slanderous tongues that alleged that not Darnley but the murdered Riccio was the father of the future King. As long ago as January 29, when Randolph told Leicester that he feared it was true that Mary was with child, he wrote: "Woe is me for you when David's son shall be a King of England!"[2] and the day was to come when James VI. would have the same ugly stigma flung in his face by a grandson of the Lord Ruthven who had shared in Riccio's murder.[3] The Queen's anxiety to convince Darnley of his paternity is described in Herries' "Memoirs," in the account of the interview between Mary and her husband, "about two o'clock in the afternoon," when "the King came to visit the Queen and was desirous to see the child. 'My Lord,' says the Queen, 'God has given you and me a son, begotten by none but you!' At which words the King blushed, and kissed the child. Then she took the child in her arms, and discovering his face, said, 'My Lord, here I protest to God, and as I shall answer to Him at the great day of judgment, this is your son, and no other man's son! And I am desirous that all here, both ladies and others, bear witness; for he is so much your own son that I fear it will be the worse for him hereafter!' Then she spoke to Sir William Stanley. 'This,' says she, 'is the son whom, I hope, shall first unite the two kingdoms of Scotland and England!' Sir William answered, 'Why, Madam? Shall he succeed before your Majesty and his father?'

[1] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 546.
[2] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 13.
[3] "Come down, thou son of Seigneur David!" cried Alexander Ruthven to the King, in Gowrie House, on hearing that his brother, the Earl, had been killed. "Thou hast slain an honester man nor thyself." —"Bruce's Life," Wodrow Society, p. 193.

'Because,' says she, 'his father has broken to me.' The King was by and heard all. Says he, 'Sweet Madam, is this your promise that you made to forgive and forget all?' The Queen answered, 'I have forgiven all, but will never forget. What if Fawsinside's pistol had shot;[1] what would have become of him and me both? or what estate would you have been in? God only knows; but we may suspect.' 'Madam,' answered the King, 'these things are all past.' 'Then,' says the Queen, 'let them go.'" Darnley, at all events, was sufficiently conciliated to write both to the King of France and the Cardinal of Guise, announcing the news of the birth, and begging them to stand sponsors to the child. This was his letter to the Cardinal:

LORD DARNLEY TO THE CARDINAL OF GUISE.

[Strickland's "*Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots.*"]

EDINBURGH, *June* 19, 1566, in great haste.

Sir, my uncle,

Having so favourable an opportunity of writing to you by this gentleman, who is on the point of setting off, I would not omit to inform you that the Queen, my wife, has just been delivered of a son, which circumstance, I am sure, will not cause you less joy than ourselves; and also to inform you how, on this occasion, I have, on my part, as the Queen, my said wife, has also on hers, written to the King, begging him to be pleased to oblige and honour us by standing sponsor for him, by which means he will increase the debt of gratitude I owe him for all his favours to me, for which I shall always be ready to make every return in my power.

So, having nothing more agreeable to inform you of at present, I conclude, praying God, monsieur my uncle, to have you always in His holy and worthy keeping.

Your very humble and very obed[t]. nephew,

HENRY, R.

Please to present my commendations to Madame the Dowager de Guise.

[1] See p. 52.

Meanwhile Sir James Melville was already riding post haste with the news to the English Court, arriving in London on the evening of the 23rd. The Court was then at Greenwich, and Elizabeth, in merry mood, was dancing in the hall after supper, when Cecil, to whom the great event was first announced, whispered the news in her Majesty's ear. According to Melville, the Queen was so overcome with vexation that all merriment was laid aside for that night. "Every one present," he was afterwards told, "marvelled what might move so sudden a change; for the Queen sat down with her hand upon her cheek, and burst out to some of her ladies how that the Queen of Scots was lighter of a fair son, while she was but a barren stock." The theory that Elizabeth knew herself to be incapable of bearing a child throws a kindly light on her strange behaviour on this occasion, and makes it easier to forgive her extraordinary reception of Melville himself at his official audience on the following morning, as well as her unnecessary falsehood. "She welcomed him," he writes, "with a merry *volte*"—a French dance then much in vogue—and assured him that his welcome news had recovered her from a heavy sickness, which had held her fifteen days! "All this she said and did before I delivered my letter of credence. I told her when she had read it, 'That my Queen knew, of all her friends, her Majesty would be the gladdest of the news, albeit her son was dear bought with peril of her life;' adding 'that she was so sore handled in the meantime, that she wished she had never married.' This I said to give the English Queen a little scare of marrying. She boasted that she was on the point of marrying the Archduke Charles, whenever she was pressed to name the second person or heir to the English Crown. Then I requested her Majesty to be a gossip to our Queen, for cummers, or godmothers, are called gossips in England: this she granted gladly. Then I said her Majesty would have a fair occasion to see our Queen, which she had so oft desired. At this she smiled, and said, 'She wished that her estate and affairs might permit her,' and promised to send honourable Lords and ladies to supply her place." Melville also made a point of seeing the Spanish Ambassador, to explain why his mistress had not sent specially on this occasion to Philip II.:

GUZMAN DE SILVA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *June* 25, 1566.

On the night of the 23rd a gentleman from the Queen of Scotland arrived here, who came to see me early next morning and gave me a letter from his Queen, from which and from his own statement I learn that the Queen had given birth to a son, and that she had sent the gentleman to inform this Queen thereof, another gentleman going to the King of France, these two Sovereigns having consented already to be sponsors. She asked me to convey the information of the birth to your Majesty. She did not send specially as the voyage was so long a one, and when her messenger arrived, your Majesty would already have learned from other sources, and also for reasons which your Majesty would understand. These reasons having caused her likewise to refrain from asking your Majesty to be godfather, but that she had asked the Duke of Savoy, as she considered him a person attached to your Majesty.

Yesterday afternoon this gentleman went to the Queen, and to-day returned to see me. He tells me the Queen seemed very glad of the birth of the infant, and he begged her to appoint the Earl of Leicester or Cecil or both, to represent her at the christening, as the Queen wished to see some trustworthy person from her to communicate with greater safety, and she could appoint whatever lady she liked among those who are in Scotland. The Queen did not reply to this.

Elizabeth's choice eventually settled on Mary Stuart's half-sister, the Countess of Argyll, as her proxy at the christening. Neither Leicester nor Cecil was appointed to represent her, but the Earl of Bedford, who also presented Mary on her Majesty's behalf with a splendid font of gold, worth £1,000. That, however, was some months later, when Elizabeth expressed her fears that the little prince might have outgrown it. "If you find that so," she told the Earl, "you may observe that our good sister has only to keep it for the next."

CHAPTER III

MARY AND THE SUCCESSION

Anglo-Scottish Intrigues—Elizabeth's Warning to Mary—Killigrew's Mission—Bedside Reception by Mary—His Opinion of the Infant Prince—Rokesby, the Spy—Mary's Dramatic Interview—Catholic Rising in England Predicted—Elizabeth's Progress to Oxford—Renewing the Archduke's Suit—Parliament and the Succession Debate—Elizabeth's Anger—Stormy Interview with the Lords and Bishops—The Commons Decline to be Browbeaten—Their Victory—Mary's Friends and Foes in Parliament.

WHILE the rival Queens were thus, to all outward appearance, on the high road to reconciliation, in reality they were more distrustful of each other than ever. There was reason for this on both sides. Mary knew that Cecil had his spies about her Court; Elizabeth was equally aware that Shane O'Neill, second Earl of Tyrone, the worst Irish thorn in England's side at this period, was intriguing with Argyll and Mary Stuart, as well as with the King of France, offering support in exchange for help against the ancient enemy. Stories were always being told, too, of Mary's encouragement of English Catholics. Shortly before the birth of the son, whose arrival, in the ordinary course of things, would have strengthened Mary's position enormously in this respect, Elizabeth sent Henry Killigrew to complain, among other things, of the secret aid given to Shane O'Neill, "who is of natural education, savage, and ignorant of God's law and of man's law, as by his foul life is manifest;" and that one Christopher Rokesby, an English Papist, "has by his follies and rash devices entered into some favour with that Queen;" while Murray was also to understand how unkindly Elizabeth might take it to see a barbarous rebel like Shane O'Neill aided "by such faithful persons in Scotland as have been by her means, and at no small cost, preserved in liberty of their country and also of their consciences." Killigrew was to make every endeavour to stay such assistance, "yet not to

make Shane's power appear so great but that her Majesty, if she pleased to deal with him, has any cause to intreat any in Scotland to forbear aiding him."[1] To these public instructions Elizabeth added a private letter to Mary complaining in no uncertain terms that while she had banished Mary's own rebellious subjects, and prayed to God that her dear sister might have a speedy delivery, Mary and her councillors were all the time showing favour and countenance to such English rebels as this Christopher Rokesby:

The news, Madam, I must tell you, with your pardon, do much displease me. Remove these briars I pray you, lest some thorn prick the hand of those who are to blame in this. Such matters hurt to the quick. It is not by such ways as these that you will attain the object of your wishes. These be the by-paths which those follow who fear the open road. I say not this for any dread I feel of harm that you may do me. My trust is in Him who governs all things by His justice, and with this faith I know no alarm. The stone recoils often on the head of the thrower, and you will hurt yourself—you have already hurt yourself—more than you can hurt me. Your actions towards me are as full of venom as your words of honey. I have but to tell my subjects what you are, and I well know the opinion which they will form of you. Judge you of your own prudence—you can better understand these things than I can write them. Assure me under your own hand of your good meaning, that I may satisfy those who are more inclined than I am to doubt you. If you are amusing yourself at my expense, do not think so poorly of me that I will suffer such wrong without avenging it. Remember, my dear sister, that if you desire my affection you must learn to deserve it.[2]

Killigrew made all haste to Scotland, arriving at Berwick three days after leaving London, but, learning there of the

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., pp. 286-8.
[2] Froude's "History of England."

Queen's delivery, he took his time over the rest of the journey to Edinburgh:

HENRY KILLIGREW TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

EDINBURGH, *Sunday, June* 23, 1566.

I arrived yesterday afternoon and found means to let her Highness know, after the best means I could —which she took in good part, and sent me word by one of the Melvilles, that I was welcome from my Sovereign, and should have audience as soon as she might have any ease of the pain in her breasts; which I am borne in hand will be about Tuesday or Wednesday next. Meantime her Grace commanded a bed of her own of crimson velvet to be set up in my chamber, and as I guess, willed my Lord of Murray to call me to dine with him this day being Sunday, for I had determined to keep my chamber till I had audience of her. He sent me word to come to the sermon, where I found the Earls of Huntly, Argyll, Murray, Mar and Crawford, and dined with Argyll and Murray, which keep house together. After dinner I delivered my Lord of Leicester's and your letters to his Lordship, which he received thankfully, and returned to the castle, saying he would let me know when her Majesty was in state to give me audience.

Abiding which I write as follows. The birth has bred much joy here—the Queen is in good state for a woman in her case, and the prince a very goodly child. For aught I can see O'Neill is not like to have great aid from Argyll or MacLane, or that Rokesby has yet spoken with the Queen—though in secret in this town, as also others, one Thwattes, a Norfolk man, another called Roggers, sometime servant to Mr. Ashley, besides Guyn, Yaxley's man, arrived of late with letters and tokens out of Flanders. James Melville, now in England, can best declare of any other (if he would) the devices both of Rokesby, O'Neill and others.

I find here an uncertain and disquiet sort of men —especially the nobility divided in factions, whereof I will write more again. Argyll, Murray, Mar and Atholl presently in Court, be linked together and Huntly and Bothwell with their friends on the other side. Bothwell and the Master of Maxwell are both on the Borders, bearing the Queen in hand that there is a practice to bring in Morton during her childbed: but the truth is that Bothwell would not gladly be in the danger of the four above named that lie in the castle. Yet it is thought and said that his credit with the Queen is more than all the rest together. The Queen's husband lies also in the castle, but his father in the town. Methinks, for all the young prince, there is small account made of them. Lennox sent me even now a man of his with offers of courtesy for my Sovereign's sake, and benefits received. I said I would make report, and wished my Lord would endeavour himself indeed to deserve her Majesty's favour again. This messenger pressed me so importunately that I could not shift me of him. Standen also offered to speak with me, but I excused myself till I had spoken with her Grace—and this I did for a good cause. Grange is gone home to his house, and Lethington being ready for Flanders, and warned that Bothwell laid wait for him at sea, has gone into Argyll, with little hope to return to Court.

Killigrew did not have to wait long for his interview with Mary. It was only five days after the birth of the prince that the Queen received him at her bedside—full early for such an ordeal, as may be read even in the cold, matter-of-fact words of the unemotional Englishman:

HENRY KILLIGREW TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

EDINBURGH, *June* 24, 1566.

At three o'clock this afternoon, Murray sent a gentleman, and took me from his lodging to the castle, where the Earl of Mar, Captain, met us, and by both, without pause, I was brought to the Queen's bedside,

where her Highness received thankfully her Majesty's letters and commendations, desiring me to excuse her proceeding farther, and as soon as she could get strength, I should have access again. I took leave and was brought to the young prince, sucking of his nourishment, and afterwards saw him as good as naked—I mean his head, feet and hands, all to my judgment well proportioned, and like to prove a goodly prince. Her Majesty was so bold immediately after delivery that she has not yet recovered. The few words she spoke were faintly, with a hollow cough. The two Earls brought me to the castle gate, and on taking leave, I told Murray that part of my instructions were to be weighed by some of her godly council before communicating to her Grace, as I prayed him to do at a convenient time. He said his credit was yet but small, and his state not much better than when he looked for naught but banishment. I am told that Henry Guyn brought from Flanders two great chests, and eight or ten letters to the Queen and her husband. Rokesby has taken a chamber here for three months and keeps secret. Thus I take leave as one that if he were home again, would make no suit to return hither.

Cecil knew more about Rokesby than Killigrew at the time apparently was aware of, and had sent him word that he might purchase pardon and profit if he would do service as a spy. Rokesby's own account of his dramatic adventures shows how he was already committed to that service through Sir Henry Percy, brother of the seventh Earl of Northumberland. This statement is placed in the Calendar of the Hatfield MSS. under June, 1566, but, though it relates to affairs about that date, it was obviously written at least a year and three-quarters later. The text is here given from Haynes's collection, where it is printed *in extenso:*

CHRISTOPHER ROKESBY TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[Haynes: "*Burghley State Papers.*"]

For that your honour did inquire if I could call to remembrance things that were done when I was in

Photo Emery Walker.

WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY.

From the portrait attributed to Marc Gheeraedts in the National Portrait Gallery

Scotland, I have here written the whole circumstance thereof; if it will please your Lordship to peruse.

Mr. Weddereld, of Lincoln's Inn, having a writ of execution against me for a thousand pounds, sent it to the Bishop of York, then president, who caused me to be apprehended, and so brought before him. I put in sureties to answer the matter, and knowing that I must either pay or go to prison, I determined to escape and go into Scotland; and in my way from York I lodged with Mr. Lascelles, being brother to my wife. I told him how the case stood with me, and what I was determined to do. Then did he open to me in what manner he had dealt with the Queen of Scots, and declared to me the pedigree of her title to the crown of this realm; saying to me, that the opinion of the most part of the judges of England was clear with her; and that he and James Melville had travailed in that matter a year before, in which time he had both written and received letters from the Queen of Scots. So he wrote a letter with me in my favour to the Queen of Scots. Then did I pass forward, not coming to mine own house. And Sir Henry Percy, being my dear friend, I made Tynemouth on my way to have his advice, and showed him all, and what Lascelles had said. Sir Henry, a little musing of this matter, did say to me, if Lascelles were a dealer in those causes, they would not prove well, "but," saith he, "if you will work wisely, ye may do yourself good." I did crave his counsel. He thought it good I should devise all ways and means I could, to win myself some credit with the State there, and ever show myself ready to serve their humour; and what I could learn that might stand mine own country in any stead, get him secret intelligence, and he should give knowledge thereof to the Secretary of England; and by that means possibly I might do myself good.

So I parted from Sir Henry, and came to Edinburgh, where I sent for James Melville, and after some talk with him, I gave him a letter from Mr.

Lascelles to the Queen. And the next evening after ten o'clock was I sent for in secret manner to speak with the Queen, and being carried into a little closet in Edinburgh Castle, the Queen came to me; and so doing the duty belonging to a Prince, I did offer my service; and with great courtesy she did receive me, and said I should be very welcome to her; and so began to ask me many questions of news from the Court of England, and of the Queen, and of the Lord Robert, with divers other questions. I could say little, for I had not been at the Court a year before. So being very late, the Queen said she would next day converse with me in other causes, and willed me take my ease for that night, and commanded Melville to see that I was entertained and to want nothing, so departed for that time.

The next night I was sent for again to the Queen, and brought secretly to the same place, where the Queen came to me. She sitting down on a little coffer without a cushion, and I kneeling beside, she began to talk of her Father Lascelles, and how she was much beholden to him, for he had travailed to get her a true pedigree of her title to the crown of England; and how she trusted to find many friends in England, whensoever time did serve, and did name [Sir Thomas] Stanley, Herbert, and Darcy, from whom she had received letters; and by means she did make account to win friendship of many of the nobility, as the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Derby, Shrewsbury, Northumberland, Westmorland, Cumberland: she had the better hope of these, because she thought them all to be of the old religion, which she meant to restore again with all expedition, and thereby win the hearts of the common people. Besides this, she practised to have two of the worshipful of every shire of England, and such as were of her religion, to be made her friends, and sought of me to know the names of such as were meet for that purpose. I answered and said I had little acquaintance in any shire of England, but only Yorkshire; and there was

great plenty of Papists. She told me she had written a number of letters to Christopher Lascelles with blank superscriptions, and he to direct them to such as he thought meet for that purpose.

She told me as she had received friendly letters from divers, naming Sir Thomas Stanley, and one Herbert, and Darcy with the crooked back. Thus meaning, that, after she had friended herself in every shire of England with some of the worshipful, or of the best countenance of the country, she meant to cause war to be stirred in Ireland, whereby England might be kept occupied. Then she would have an army in readiness, and herself with her army to enter England; and the day that she should enter, her title would be read, and she proclaimed Queen, and certain of every shire would repair unto her for her better assistance, to take possession of her own. For the better furniture of this purpose she had before travailed with Spain, with France, and with the Pope for aid, and had received fair promises with some money from the Pope, and more looked for.

After she had made me privy to all these purposes, she asked me what I thought of them: and I seemed to like well of them, and showed myself ready to do anything, as her Grace would direct me. Then said she, "I would fain do for the best, for the soothsayers tell us that the Queen of England shall not live this year. And now is there good love and favour between our good sister and us; and if we would let our sister be in rest for her time, she will be content that we shall have it after, and we would rather come to it with quietness than otherwise. What," saith she, "think ye best?" "Madam," said I, "the matter is great, take advice of your wise Council." She answered that she durst make no more of Council but by Lord Bothwell and the Lord Erskine, who had the keeping of Edinburgh Castle, James Melville, and myself, and so willed me to confer further of these causes with the Lord Bothwell, whom I might well perceive was in more secret favour with her than any other.

And thus having won myself into credit, I gave intelligence to Sir Henry Percy, and then Mr. Killigrew came to Edinburgh, with whom I had secret conference. I made him to understand all these practices, and he seemed to be very glad, and willed me to write them all of mine own hand, and he would enclose them in his letters to the Secretary of England, whereby I might deserve the thanks, and thereupon I wrote so many things as I had knowledge of. But, before I could find convenient time to get them to Mr. Killigrew, my chamber was searched, and all my writings taken, and carried to the Queen, and I brought before the Council, and straightly examined what intelligence I had given to England. I said none, and confessed I meant to have done, for they had my writings. Then would they needs know how I came to the knowledge of such matters, they being of the Queen's secret Council, and not privy to any such thing, they would no way but I dealt with some familiar, for there was none of them knew that I had any conference with the Queen. Then did they earnestly desire to know whether I had given intelligence of these things to England or no, and I said no, but I meant to have done, as might appear by my writings which they had. So was I sent to Spyny Castle, with straight charge given to the Captain that no message should either come to me or go from me, and so I remained there a prisoner a year and three-quarters.

No doubt Rokesby's interview with the Scottish Queen became known to Cecil and Elizabeth at the time, but with Cecil's own letters found in the spy's possession, and other evidence of English treachery, it is hardly surprising, perhaps, that they did not return to the subject in their correspondence with Mary. They knew from other sources that the disaffected Catholics of the North were always turning with expectant eyes towards the Scottish Border. Randolph had informed Cecil through his Scottish friends that Father Lascelles had assured Mary "that the Papists are ready to

rise in England when she will have them."[1] Perhaps that accounted for Guzman's remark, in a letter to Philip on August 3, when he wrote that although Elizabeth had expressed her satisfaction at the Queen of Scots' assurances with regard to the suspected intrigues on her behalf in England, "she is even more suspicious than before."[2] According to Guzman, who naturally did not minimise the danger, some disturbance or rising was expected before the meeting of Parliament in the autumn. "This has been threatened for some time," the Ambassador wrote to Philip on August 23, "but I am assured that it will now happen, which is very probable, seeing that the Queen is not popular or beloved, either by Catholics or heretics. The former do not like her because she is not a Catholic, and the others because she is not so furious and violent a heretic as they wish; and, beside, they consider her very parsimonious, and they are greedy."[3]

It says much for Elizabeth's coolness that in the midst of so many anxieties, some of which—though not all—were very real, she could set out in this uncertain month of August for one of her holiday progresses through her kingdom. This time she paid first a visit to Cecil at Stamford, afterwards revisiting her old prison at Woodstock—where, under her unhappy sister, Mary I., she had learnt to envy the milkmaid's lot, and owed her deliverance, if not her life, to the intervention of her Spanish brother-in-law, Philip II. Thence she passed to Oxford, where five crowded days were spent in much the same way as at Cambridge, when she visited the sister University two years previously:

. . . The Queen (wrote the Spanish Ambassador, who accompanied her) has been received in the University as princes generally are where they are welcome, that is to say, with applause and rejoicing. Four speeches at separate places were delivered to her on her entrance, three in Latin and one in Greek, all praising her virtues and learning, and expressing joy at her visit. Every day since she has been here she has

[1] Hatfield MSS., Vol. I., p. 338.
[2] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 570.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 574.

attended public lectures in various sciences, and at night she has gone to see comedies and tragedies in Latin and English. Yesterday was the last day of the exercises, and the Queen gave thanks in Latin, in well chosen words. In the various lectures, disputations, and comedies only ordinary matters have been treated, and nothing has been said about religion, except on the last occasion, when the subject was theology. The man they call the Bishop of Salisbury praised the Queen in a few words for having maintained in her realm the truth of the gospel, and by his showing the Queen may be sure, and everyone satisfied that this country possesses the faith that is best for it. This afternoon at four o'clock the Queen left here, and will arrive to-morrow at Lord Windsor's house.[1]

Guzman was not quite accurate in saying that only ordinary matters were discussed in the various disputations. "Even in that quiet haven of peaceful thought," as Froude says, "the great subject of the day, which Elizabeth called her death-knell, still pursued her. An eloquent student discoursed on the perils to which a nation was exposed when the Sovereign died with no successor declared. The comparative advantages were argued of elective and hereditary monarchy. Each side had its hot defenders; and though the votes of the University were in favour of the natural laws of succession, the champion of election had the best of the argument, and apparently best pleased the Queen. When in the peroration of his speech he said he would maintain his opinion 'with his life, and, if need were, with his death,' she exclaimed, 'Excellent—oh, excellent!'"[2]

The Spanish Ambassador was anxious to bring her "death-knell" nearer by advancing the interminable cause of the Archduke Charles, urged thereto, apparently, by Cecil, who fully realised the increasing perils of Elizabeth's position. As he explains in his letter, he seized the opportunity of renewing the negotiations while they were on the road back to Windsor from Oxford:

[1] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 578.
[2] Froude's "History of England."

GUZMAN DE SILVA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *September* 14, 1566.

The ceremonies and exercises at Oxford were so long and continuous that there was no time to speak to the Queen of anything else, nor did I wish to endeavour to do so, unless she commenced, as I wished her to think that I had taken the journey only to accompany her. I did not even have time to speak to Secretary Cecil about matters for some time, and then what I heard from him in substance was that the Queen was annoyed at the Archduke's reply, as she thought he was asking a great deal, which showed that he was not very anxious to conclude the business, and those who were against it (by which I understood he meant Lord Robert and his friends, although he did not name them) encouraged the Queen in this belief, and urged her, since nothing had been done in the marriage, to deal with the question of the succession in order, amongst other things, to show the Queen of Scotland that they were willing to forward her interest. This is far from the truth, as they have no intention of serving her, nor Catherine [Grey] nor anyone else, but only to delay and upset the Archduke's suit. To effect this they may suggest that the kingdom should elect its own Sovereign if the Queen were to die, and thus there would be no reason to press the Queen in this Parliament, either about the marriage or the succession. All this is directed towards hindering the Archduke, and benefiting Leicester's claims, and he Cecil asked me to take an opportunity to press the Queen to consider the matter well and give a favourable answer to the Emperor. He thought that nothing would have so much influence with the Queen as a letter from your Majesty. I answered, after thanking him, that the Queen should not wonder at the tone of the Archduke's answer, considering that he had been pressed to abandon his religion, a thing which ought not to be proposed to

the lowest man in the world for the sake of interest, and if proposed should not be accepted. The Archduke seeing such pretensions as these, and hearing from several quarters that the Queen did not wish to marry at all, acted wisely in making demands on his side, as it would not be prudent for him to risk a loss without some chance of gain. Cecil assured me that he was certain the Queen wished to marry, and it was more necessary for her to do so than she herself knew. I was right, he said, in my remark that people announced that the Queen did not wish to marry, but they did it only to delay the business and discourage the Emperor. With regard to the principal point of religion, the Archduke ought not to be asked to change his faith, and he said that Thomas Danett[1] had been delighted with the Archduke's manner and appearance, and the Queen was quite satisfied now in that respect. . . .

On the same day I chatted with the Queen on the road for almost a couple of leagues, and after having related many things which had happened when your Majesty was here, and when her marriage with you was proposed (which is a thing she does not forget) she spoke about the Emperor and the Archduke, although very lightly and when we were already near Lord Windsor's house, where she was to stay. I therefore did not think it a good time to prolong the subject and did not reintroduce it until the next day, when she began again to complain of the Archduke for having asked for new conditions, and unjust ones, as she thought, as they seemed to infer that he held her of small account. I answered that she had no reason for thinking that, considering that so many princes had sought her, and how notorious were her merits and grandeur, she ought not therefore to think that the Archduke, who was so anxious to marry her, would ask anything against her dignity, but only such things as were proper under the circumstances. He

[1] Danett was the Englishman sent to negotiate with the Emperor on the subject of the Archduke's suit.

also thought no doubt that if all his conditions were not granted, that such as were reasonable might be agreed to. She said that she believed this because the Emperor in conversation with Danett had answered these words—"*Iniquum petit est æquum ferat:*" but affairs of this sort ought not to be spun out, and if the match were not to be carried through she must make up her mind to do her best for her country and subjects. I think she would like the Archduke to have been more gallant and affectionate, and have hurried his coming hither. When I told her how much more powerful honour and duty were to virtuous princes than desire, and said that the Archduke having the war on hand could not well leave the Emperor, she said that this was the cause of his delay in coming, as she had been informed. I told her I was surprised that so many demands had been made in regard to religion, as it was not a matter which could be adopted or abandoned at will, but must be treated according to the understanding, and from what I gathered from her, there was not so much difference between them that all these difficulties need arise. She said that it was the Emperor, and not she who had imposed conditions in this respect.

Cecil seems to desire this business so greatly that he does not speak about the religious point, but this may be deceit, as his wife is of a contrary opinion, and thinks that great trouble may be caused to the peace of the country through it. She has great influence with her husband, and no doubt discusses the matter with him, but she appears a much more furious heretic than he is. Until the Queen comes hither, I understand nothing will be decided.

It is believed for certain that Parliament will meet, although some people still doubt it. They think that if the Queen does not marry or proclaim a successor, they will not vote her any supplies. The marriage question is as I have described it, and the matter of the succession will not be settled. The Queen will never consent to it, as she understands very well that

it will not be to her advantage. The heretics are furiously in favour of Catherine, although somewhat divided, some wishing for the Earl of Huntingdon, who is the man to suit them best. They are powerful in Parliament, as there was a great ado here a year and a half ago in order that all those who were elected for shires and boroughs to vote in the Commons should be heretics, and what with them and the new bishops they should thus have a majority, especially as the nobles are divided, and they can settle the succession on a heretic, if the Queen wishes it. As I have said, however, she will not allow it, and when she herself spoke to me on the matter, and said it would be necessary to discuss it if the marriage were not effected, I replied that this was a good business to talk about, but a bad one to do. She said I was right. . . .

Now began the stormy session in Parliament when, as Elizabeth well knew, she would again have to face the problem of the succession, this time with an empty exchequer. It was the first meeting for four years, for though Parliament had been called repeatedly, it had been as regularly prorogued by the Queen. Now that her coffers were empty, there was nothing for it but boldly to face the crisis. Neither House was in the mood to be trifled with any longer with regard to the all important question of the day. Parliament, therefore, reassembled, and after two or three weeks of preliminaries, despite an official declaration that "the Queen, by God's special providence, was moved to marry, and persuaded to see the sequel of that before further suit touching the succession," a vote was carried to press the question to an issue.

The struggle is best described in the letters of the French and Spanish Ambassadors, the debates being imperfectly given in Sir Symonds D'Ewes's "Journals":

GUZMAN DE SILVA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *October* 26, 1566.

The discussion about the succession still goes on in Parliament, and the Queen is extremely annoyed,

as she fears that if the matter is carried further they will adopt Catherine [Grey], both she and her husband, the Earl of Hertford, being strong Protestants, and most of the members of Parliament are heretics, and are going on that course to maintain their own party. I have always pointed out to the Queen the grave difficulties which might result from such a nomination, and the peril in which she and her affairs would be if Catherine were appointed her successor, contrasted with her security if she had direct heirs. She quite understands it, and three days ago told me that on no account would she allow this nomination to be discussed. She told me what had been done in the matter, saying that they had offered her votes of £250,000 on condition that she would agree to it, but she refused, and said that she would not accept any conditions, but that the money should be given freely and graciously, as it was for the common good and advantage of the kingdom and the defence of Ireland. She is quite determined to concede nothing in this matter of the succession, although she wishes to dissemble and let them talk in order that she may know what are their opinions and discover the lady of each one's choice, by which she alludes to the Queen of Scotland and Catherine. I told her if she married all this trouble would cease, and she said that within a week she would send to the Emperor, signifying that her intention was to accept the marriage, although Thomas Danett tells me that so far as he can observe the matter has greatly cooled.

On my telling the Earl of Sussex the efforts I had used to persuade the Queen to marry, he told me the same, and greatly rejoiced that I had again pressed the matter upon her. He asked me if your Majesty was still favourable to the Archduke's match, to which I answered in the affirmative. The people who are favourable to it here have always been somewhat suspicious that your Majesty did not really wish for the match, although everything has been shown to the contrary. Sussex asked me if I would give him

leave to affirm it. I said "Yes," and I was surprised that anyone could doubt it, seeing how attached your Majesty was to the Emperor and his brothers. He also told me he understood that I was not in favour of the settlement of the declaration of the succession. I told him it was true, as I desired the tranquillity of the Queen and the peace of the kingdom as a minister of your Majesty who loves them all. He answered that he was of the same opinion, on condition that the Queen should fix an early date for her marriage, and that it should be understood if she did not marry then that she would declare her successor, and I might be sure that Parliament would press the matter until she decided. With this object the Lords would meet jointly with the Commons, as I understand they did yesterday, although the Queen told me she thought they would not do so.

As I saw the Queen so angry with the members, nearly all of whom are Protestants, I told her to look at the intentions which these people professing the new religion displayed, their only object being to disregard their superiors, and order things in their own way, without respect or consideration. I told her it was meet she should take measures in time, and bear in mind the obedience and quietude of the Catholics compared with the turbulence of the Protestants. She answered me that she did not know what these devils wanted. I said what they wanted was simply liberty, and if Kings did not look out for themselves, and combine together to check them, it was easy to see how the license that these people had taken would end. She could not avoid agreeing with me, although she wished somewhat to excuse her friends, saying that they had some show of reason in their wishes with regard to the succession, but she thinks differently, and their pertinacity and obstinacy will by and by prove it better, as they are determined to press her more than she thinks.

Perhaps the most interesting account of the proceedings is given by the French Ambassador, La Mothe Fénelon, in a

letter revealing not only the Queen's determination to have her own way, but also the independent spirit of the Commons in those early days:

LA MOTHE FÉNELON TO CHARLES IX.

[Disraeli's "*Curiosities of Literature.*"]

LONDON, *October* 27, 1566.

Sire,

By my last dispatch of the 21st instant, among other matters, I informed your Majesty of what was said on Saturday the 19th, as well in Parliament as in the chamber of the Queen, respecting the circumstances of the succession to this Crown; since which I have learned other particulars, which occurred a little before, and which I will not now omit to relate, before I mention what afterwards happened.

On Wednesday, the 16th of the present month, the Comptroller of the Queen's Household[1] moved, in the lower House of Parliament, where the deputies of towns and counties meet, to obtain a subsidy; taking into consideration, among other things, that the Queen had emptied the exchequer, as well in the late wars as in the maintenance of her ships at sea, for the protection of her kingdom, and her subjects; and which expenditure has been so excessive, that it could no further be supported without the aid of her good subjects, whose duty it was to offer money to her Majesty, even before she required it, in consideration that hitherto she had been to them a benignant and courteous mistress.

The Comptroller having finished, one of the deputies, a country gentleman, rose in reply. He said that he saw no occasion, nor any pressing necessity, which ought to move her Majesty to ask for money of her

[1] By Sir Symonds D'Ewes's Journals it appears that the French Ambassador had mistaken the day, Wednesday the 16th, for Thursday the 17th of October. The Ambassador is afterwards right in the other dates. The person who moved the House, whom he calls "*Le Scindicque de la Royne*," was Sir Edward Rogers, Comptroller of her Majesty's Household. The motion was seconded by Sir William Cecil, who entered more largely into the particulars of the Queen's charges, incurred in the defence of Havre, in France, the repairs of her navy, and the Irish war with O'Neill.

subjects. And, in regard to the wars, which it was said had exhausted her treasury, she had undertaken them from herself, as she had thought proper; not for the defence of her kingdom, nor for the advantage of her subjects; but there was one thing which seemed to him more urgent, and far more necessary to examine concerning this campaign; which was, how the money raised by the late subsidy had been spent; and that every one who had had the handling of it should produce their accounts, that it might be known if the moneys had been well or ill spent.

On this rises one named Mr. Basche,[1] Purveyor of the Marine, and also a member of the said Parliament, who shows that it was most necessary that the Commons should vote the said subsidies to her Majesty, who had not only been at vast charges, and was so daily, to maintain a great number of ships, but also in building new ones; repeating what the Comptroller of the Household had said, that they ought not to wait till the Queen asked for supplies, but should make a voluntary offer of their services.

Another country gentleman rises and replies, that the said Basche had certainly his reasons to speak for the Queen in the present case, since a great deal of her Majesty's moneys for the providing of ships passed through his hands; and the more he consumed the greater was his profit. According to his notion, there were but too many purveyors in this kingdom, whose noses had grown so long that they stretched from London to the West. It was certainly proper to know if all they levied by their commission for the present campaign was entirely employed to the Queen's profit. Nothing further was debated on that day.

The Friday following, when the subject of the

[1] This gentleman's name does not appear in Sir Symonds D'Ewes's Journals. M. La Mothe Fénelon has, however, the uncommon merit, contrary to the custom of his nation, of making an English name somewhat recognisable; for Edward Basche was one of the general surveyors of the victualling of the queen's ships, 1573, as I find in the Lansdowne MSS., Vol. XVI., art. 69.—Isaac Disraeli.

subsidy was renewed, one of the gentlemen deputies showed that the Queen, having prayed for the last subsidy, had promised, and pledged her faith to her subjects, that after that one she never more would raise a single penny on them: and promised even to free them from the wine duty, of which promise they ought to press for the performance; adding, that it was far more necessary for this kingdom to speak concerning an heir or successor to their Crown, and of her marriage, than of a subsidy.

The next day, which was Saturday the 19th, they all began, with the exception of a single voice, a loud outcry for the succession. Amid these confused voices and cries, one of the Council prayed them to have a little patience, and with time they should be satisfied; but that, at this moment, other matters pressed—it was necessary to satisfy the Queen about a subsidy. "No! no!" cried the deputies, "we are expressly charged not to grant anything until the Queen resolvedly answers that which we now ask: and we require you to inform her Majesty of our intention, which is such as we are commanded to, by all the towns and subjects of this kingdom, whose deputies we are. We further require an act, or acknowledgment, of our having delivered this remonstrance, that we may satisfy our respective towns and counties that we have performed our charge." They alleged for an excuse, that if they had omitted any part of this, *their heads would answer for it.* We shall see what will come of this.

Tuesday the 22nd, the principal Lords, and the Bishops of London, York, Winchester, and Durham, went together, after dinner, from the Parliament to the Queen, whom they found in her private apartment. There, after those who were present had retired, and they remained alone with her, the Great Treasurer, having the precedence in age, spoke first in the name of all. He opened by saying that the Commons had required them to unite in one sentiment and agreement, to solicit her Majesty to give her answer as she had

promised, to appoint a successor to the Crown; declaring it was necessity that compelled them to urge this point, that they might provide against the dangers which might happen to the kingdom if they continued without the security they asked. This had been the custom of her royal predecessors, to provide long beforehand for the succession, to preserve the peace of the kingdom; that the Commons were all of one opinion, and so resolved to settle the succession before they would speak about a subsidy, or any other matter whatever, that hitherto nothing but the most trivial discussions had passed in Parliament, and so great an assembly was only wasting their time, and saw themselves entirely useless. They, however, supplicated her Majesty that she would be pleased to declare her will on this point, or at once to put an end to the Parliament, so that every one might retire to his home. The Duke of Norfolk then spoke, and after him every one of the other Lords, according to his rank, holding the same language in strict conformity with that of the Great Treasurer.

The Queen returned no softer answer than she had on the preceding Saturday, to another party of the same company, saying that "The Commons were very rebellious, and that they had not dared to have attempted such things during the life of her father: that it was not for them to impede her affairs, and that it did not become a subject to compel the Sovereign. What they asked was nothing less than wishing her to dig her grave before she was dead." Addressing herself to the Lords, she said: "My Lords, do what you will; as for myself, I shall do nothing but according to my pleasure. All the resolutions which you may make can have no force without my consent and authority; besides, what you desire is an affair of much too great importance to be declared to a knot of hare-brains. I will take counsel with men who understand justice and the laws, as I am deliberating to do; I will choose half a dozen of the most able I can find in my kingdom for consultation,

and after having their advice, I will then discover to you my will." On this she dismissed them in great anger.

By this, sire, your Majesty may perceive that this Queen is every day trying new inventions to escape from this passage (that is, on fixing her marriage, or her succession). She thinks that the Duke of Norfolk is principally the cause of this insisting, which one person and the other stand to; and is so angered against him, that, if she can find any decent pretext to arrest him, I think she will not fail to do it; and he himself, as I understand, has already very little doubt of this. The Duke told the Earl of Northumberland that the Queen remained steadfast to her own opinion, and would take no other advice than her own, and would do everything herself.

In his letter of November 4 to Philip, Guzman adds a few piquant details to the above account and the Queen's interview with the Lords and Bishops. Elizabeth was so angry with the Duke of Norfolk, he writes, "that she called him traitor or conspirator," or some words of similar meaning:

He replied that he never thought to have to ask her pardon for having offended her thus. Subsequently they tell me the Queen asserted that she addressed no such words to the Duke. The Earls of Leicester and Pembroke, the Marquess of Northampton, and the Lord Chamberlain, spoke to her on the matter, and Pembroke remarked to her that it was not right to treat the Duke badly, since he and the others were only doing what was fitting for the good of the country, and advising her what was best for her, and if she did not think fit to adopt the advice, it was still their duty to offer it. She told him he talked like a swaggering soldier, and said to Leicester that she had thought if all the world abandoned her he would not have done so, to which he answered he would die at her feet, and she said that that had nothing to do with the matter. She said that Northampton was of no account, and he had better talk about the arguments used to enable him to get married again, when

he had a wife living, instead of mincing words with her. With this she left them, and had resolved to order them to be considered under arrest in their houses. This she has not done, but she has commanded them not to appear before her. The other day, when they were all met together with the Duke, Sussex came to tell me what was going on,—although he did not tell me fully what the Queen had said, he informed me generally that she was greatly annoyed, and seeing the state in which affairs were, he begged me to advise the Queen to remedy matters by effecting her marriage, as he said she wished to do, taking that as an excuse for proroguing the Parliament for six months, until it was seen what could be done about the marriage. If she preferred to dissolve Parliament, she should pledge her word to some of the leaders that she would call them together again shortly, in order that they might settle the business favourably, and do their duty by the people, because outside the Parliament discussion was not free. I believe the Earl came at the request of all of them, as they, no doubt, wish to come well out of it, now that they have opened up the question of the succession, and are trying to maintain their own reputation with the people, and satisfy the Queen at the same time. I told him I would use all my efforts, as the matter was so important, both for the Queen and the country, that a right solution should be arrived at.

After having told the Queen what your Majesty ordered, as I have already stated, she with the confidence she usually shows in me began to speak upon the subject, complaining greatly of all of them, and particularly of Leicester. She asked me what I thought of such ingratitude from him, after she had shown him so much kindness and favour that even her honour had suffered for the sake of honouring him. She was glad, however, of so good an opportunity of sending him away, and the Archduke might now be quite free from suspicion.[1]

[1] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., pp. 591-2.

Parliament, through a Committee of both Houses, persisted in its determination to present an address to her Majesty expressing its earnest desire that she would marry, "where it should please her, with whom it should please her, and as soon as it should please her," also again pointing out the importance of settling the question of the succession in the event of the Queen dying without children. When summoned to deliver this address the members of the Committee doubtless anticipated trouble, but the Bishops, at least, were hardly prepared for the storm of abuse which Elizabeth now heaped upon their heads:

GUZMAN DE SILVA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

London, *November* 11, 1566.

The members of Parliament who had met, as I wrote your Majesty on the 4th instant, resolved the same day to petition the Queen by common consent to deal with the matter of the succession. She summoned them the next day to give them her reply, and made them a long speech, pointing out the dangers that might result therefrom to the peace and order of the country. This she enforced by examples, and said she was not surprised at the members of the Lower Chamber treating this matter like inexperienced schoolboys instead of as a matter of so great importance, but she marvelled greatly that the Lords had concurred and joined them in such action. There were some of these Lords who, when her sister was Queen, came to her and offered help, urging her to endeavour to obtain the Crown during her sister's life, and it might well be understood that if her successor were nominated there would be no lack of people to go on a similar errand to her to disturb the common peace, and if it was necessary she would say who these men were. Then turning to the Bishops who were present, she said, "And you doctors," (she did not call them Bishops,) "who are so fond of making speeches on this subject, while some of you dared to say in past times that the Queen, my sister,

and I were bastards, it would be much better if you looked after your own reformation, and gave a good example in your own lives and families, instead of interfering in such matters as this. The Lords in Parliament ought to have shown you this, but since they have not done so, I will do it myself. I might well excuse myself from marrying in the face of pressure from all of you, but having in view the good of the country, I am determined to marry. It will be, however, with someone who will not please you, which has been partly my reason for avoiding it hitherto, but I will refrain no longer. Those who have shown most anxiety that I should marry have helped me but little to do so now, because the man who is to be my husband is a foreigner, and will not think himself very safe in your hands, if I, your lawful Queen, am to be so thwarted, and I will not put up with it." The speech was a long one, but this was the substance of it, gathered from a person who was present and the Queen herself, who gave me a very detailed account of all that had passed, thanking me at the same time for the attachment I had shown to her at this juncture, and swearing she would never forget it. I replied that I merited no thanks for doing what your Majesty had expressly ordered me to do, and that I should serve her with as much zeal as I would my own master. . . .

She seemed to think it an affront to her dignity to adopt any compromise. I tried to persuade her that she lost nothing with the people by so doing, and it was better not to let them be dissatisfied, but to adopt some such honest measure of getting out of the difficulty. We conversed much upon this subject, and I tried to pacify her. Although she did not distinctly say she would do as I recommended, she said so in effect, and promised to listen to them one by one, and in this way she has now been reconciled to them. The next day Cecil sent to me to say that the Queen had given orders to this effect, and said that she had been pacified by my advice, and he thanked me greatly

for it. She dissembles, but she is still very angry with them, and they remain dissatisfied. She is greatly incensed with her Bishops, and on this point I helped her, although very cautiously, that it might not look like bias, pointing out to her how ungrateful they are. She does not like them, although she pretends to, but she is not deceived.

Guzman now flattered himself that Elizabeth was as good as won for the Archduke. Elizabeth herself fondly imagined that Parliament would accept her scolding with due humility and vote her supplies without further fuss and objection. She reckoned, however, without her Commons, who were not to be brow-beaten in this way. Many of the Lords afterwards begged her pardon, vowing that they would not have offended her in this way had they not been misled by her Council; but the Commons returned to the question undaunted. After what had happened, Guzman, ever ready with his advice at this crisis, told Elizabeth that he was "surprised at the rashness and insolence they exhibited, and how fond they were of their liberty, without thinking of the obedience due to their Sovereign. "She is fully alive to this," he told Philip, "but I always remind her of it on every occasion. She sometimes calls them the Protestant gentlemen. She said that I was right, but she sent them an order not to discuss the matter under pain of punishment for disobedience, and that all had now obeyed."[1] Here, however, the Spanish Ambassador was misinformed. Far from obeying this injunction of silence, the Commons treated it resolutely as "against the liberties" of Parliament, the crisis thus rushing headlong into the more dangerous pitfall of privilege. The temper of the times was demonstrated on the night of November 10, when "a paper was thrown down in the presence chamber, declaring that Parliament had discussed the succession, as it was necessary for the good of the country, and that if the Queen did not consent to the discussion, she would see some things she would not like."[2] The upshot of it all was that Elizabeth, realising that she had now taken up

[1] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 595.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 596.

an indefensible position—especially after ordering the arrest of one member, a Mr. Dalton, for venturing to discuss the forbidden topic of the Scottish title—retired as gracefully as possible, releasing the prisoner without further question or trial, and instructing the Speaker "to relieve the House of the burden of her injunction," as it was not her intention to deprive the members of the freedom of speech conferred by their privileges. Thankful to have gained so notable a victory, the Commons very wisely did not press her further in the matter of the succession, freely voting her the necessary supplies, and expressing gratitude for her promise to marry.

Mary's cause was not helped by the publication at this time by Patrick Adamson,[1] a refugee Scot in Paris, of a book in which Mary's child was brought forward as the rightful heir to the English throne. It was on account of this book that Mr. Dalton had suffered arrest during the debate in the Commons:

> How say you (he exclaimed) to a libel set forth in print calling the infant of Scotland, Prince of England, Scotland and Ireland? Prince of England, Scotland and Ireland! What enemy to the peace and quietness of the realm of England—what traitor to the Crown of this realm hath devised, set forth, and published this dishonour against the Queen's most excellent Majesty and the Crown of England? Prince of England, and Queen Elizabeth as yet having no child!—Prince of England and the Scottish Queen's child!—Prince of Scotland and England, and Scotland before England! Who ever heard or read that before this time? What true English heart may sustain to hear of this villainy and reproach against the Queen's Highness and this her realm? It is so that it hath pleased her Highness at this time to bar our speech; but if our mouths shall be stopped, and in the meantime such despite shall happen and pass without revenge, it will make the heart of a true Englishman break within his breast.[2]

[1] Afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews and James VI.'s Ambassador to Elizabeth.

[2] Froude's "History," quoting from the official Report.

Dalton, encouraged by applause, went on, as already mentioned, to discuss the forbidden topic of the Scottish title, and was accordingly checked by the Speaker, but not before the House had shown that, whatever influence Mary might have with the Lords—Guzman declared that she had a large party there—she had little hope of support among the Protestant Commons.

CHAPTER IV

THE ROAD TO KIRK O' FIELD

Widening of the Rift between Mary and Darnley—Her Flight to Alloa—Darnley's Rebuff—Bothwell's Unnatural Alliance with Him—Their Common Foe—Darnley's Confession to Murray—Lethington Restored to Favour—Mary's Alleged Guilty Relations with Bothwell—Buchanan's Allegations—Darnley Contemplates Flight Abroad—Bothwell Wounded—Mary's Ride to the Hermitage—Her Dangerous Illness at Jedburgh—Darnley's Indifference—Mary on the Border—Her Letter to the English Council on the Succession—The Craigmillar Conference—Baptism of James VI.—Restoration of the Consistorial Jurisdiction.

MUCH had happened to widen the gulf between Mary and her impossible husband since the birth of the still unbaptised prince. Darnley was held in even less esteem as the summer wore away than when Killigrew referred to him in his letter of June 24. It was probably with a view of escaping for a time at least from his obnoxious presence that Mary suddenly and secretly left Edinburgh Castle one morning, before the end of July, upon a visit to Alloa, the seat of the Earl of Mar, governor of Edinburgh Castle. Much has been made by Buchanan in his venomous "Detection" of the strange manner of her going—sailing up the Firth from Newhaven, near Leith, in a boat manned by some of Bothwell's followers, though Bothwell himself does not appear to have accompanied her—and of the dancing and masques with which she beguiled the hours while at Alloa; but so far as the clandestine nature of the journey was concerned, it was the best course open to her if she wanted to travel without Darnley's interference; and as for her amusements as the guest of the Earl of Mar, there are various documents extant to prove that she did not, in the meantime, neglect affairs of State. As soon as Darnley heard of her flight he followed her on horseback by way of Stirling, arriving at Alloa after her, but seems to have been so little pleased with his welcome that he stayed only a few hours. Thereafter the rift between them grew wider and wider, in spite of various reconcilia-

tions, probably effected more for the sake of appearance than anything else, during the ensuing months.

"The disagreement between the Queen and her husband rather increases," Bedford informed Cecil on August 8,[1] after her return to Edinburgh, and shortly before her hunting expedition into Megotland, when she was accompanied by Bothwell, Murray, and Mar. "Bothwell carries all credit in the Court," wrote Bedford a week or so earlier, adding that he was "the most hated man among the noblemen in Scotland."[2] It was one of the grim ironies of fate that the most hated man should now be almost the only ally of the most despised man in the kingdom — one who, when the time came, was to take his life with no more compunction than the butcher feels for the sheep in the slaughter-house. Their common interest at this moment was hatred of Murray, whom Darnley suspected of planning a grim revenge for the King's treachery after the Riccio murder, and whose old feud with Bothwell was by no means forgotten, though the two were forced to meet on friendly terms at Court.

It was during this month that Darnley blurted out his hatred of Murray by telling the Queen that he was determined to kill him, "finding fault that she bears him so much company"; whereupon, according to "Advertisements out of Scotland" in the Foreign Calendar, the Queen informed Murray himself. The result was that the wretched King was made to confess, his excuse being "that reports were made to him that Murray was not his friend, which made him speak that which he repented."[3] Mary declared that she would not be content that either he or anyone else should be unfriendly to Murray. "The King has departed," added the same authority; "he cannot bear that the Queen should use familiarity with man or woman"; though he appears to have joined her on her hunting trips this month both to Megotland and Glenartan. This was not the only occasion at this period on which Mary went out of her way to favour her half-brother. "Murray and Bothwell have been at evil words for Lethington," wrote the writer of the "Advertise-

[1] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 114.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 110.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

ments out of Scotland," but Lethington, in spite of Bothwell's opposition, was restored to the Queen's good graces in the following month, and Bothwell himself induced to bury the hatchet. "It pleased the Queen," wrote Lethington to Cecil on September 20 from Edinburgh, "to come secretly to a friend's house of mine, nigh this town, with only Argyll, Murray and Bothwell, to agree Bothwell with me; where, in the hearing of all, we were made friends. Whereupon her Majesty was pleased to receive me to favour and my former place."[1]

According to the warped and inconclusive "Detection," it was at this critical juncture that Mary's guilty relations began with Bothwell, now seven months married to the bride found for him by Mary herself—Lady Jane Gordon, then in her twentieth year, and sister of the Queen's own unruly lover, John Gordon, whose execution she had witnessed four years previously after the fight at Corrichie. The alleged confession of Bothwell's valet, George Dalgleish, quoted by Buchanan as his authority for these details, has never been forthcoming, and the only other witness is Lennox, who, in the Lennox MSS., places the beginning of this intrigue at the same period. Mary had arrived in Edinburgh on September 6, shortly before the reconciliation with Lethington, the ostensible object of her visit, according to Sir John Foster, being "to sit in her Exchequer to understand her revenues, and to appoint what shall be for the keeping of her house, and the young prince's."[2] In a postscript the writer informs Cecil that "the Queen has her husband in small estimation, and the Earl of Lennox has not come in her sight since the death of David." If we are to credit the "Detection," the garden of the Exchequer had a door leading to the house of David Chambers, one of Bothwell's followers. It was through this door, we are asked to believe, and by means of Lady Reres, the wife of Arthur Forbes of Reres—herself, we are told, a former mistress of the Earl, but now out of the running, "both by unwieldy age and massy substance"—that Bothwell found secret access to the Queen's chamber, "and there forced her against

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 300.
[2] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 128.

her will." Buchanan declares that Mary herself, in her subsequent confession to Murray and the Lady of Lochleven, accused Lady Reres of acting as Bothwell's procuress on that occasion, and that Bothwell overcame her by force. Since, however, there is no reliable evidence in corroboration of this, the whole story remains very much in the realms of conjecture. Buchanan scoffs at Mary's alleged attempt to throw all the blame on Bothwell and Lady Reres, and describes how Mary herself a few nights later sent this disreputable, cumbersome woman to fetch the villainous Earl in the middle of the night, letting her down by a string, over an old wall, into the next garden. "Behold," Buchanan adds, "the string suddenly broke, and down with a great noise fell Lady Reres"; not, however, so badly hurt as to prevent her from finding her way to Bothwell's room, where he was sleeping with his wife, and taking him, half-dressed, to the Queen's own chamber next door. Though the whole story seems highly improbable, Buchanan is not to be dismissed merely because he is coarse and venomous. They were coarse and venomous days. Mary herself had been reared in a vicious court, and though she had steered through it an irreproachable course, she had grown familiar enough with the licentious ways of faithless husbands and wives. Darnley had succeeded in rousing sexual passions, only to prove himself unworthy of appeasing them. Morally speaking, Bothwell was even more unworthy, but he was at least a man of mettle, as well as a man of the world, and if he was known for his immoralities he was also remembered for his loyalty to the Throne when few other Scotsmen were to be trusted. It was not very surprising if he made a strong appeal to Mary's volatile nature, when she compared him with her intolerable young husband. She had not Elizabeth's instinctive objection to submitting herself to a man's rule. Bothwell's masterful personality must have appeared to her as a tower of strength beside the shallowness of the craven-hearted Darnley.

If, in substance, Buchanan's allegations be true, Mary's guilt, as Dr. Hay Fleming pointedly remarks, was not lessened by the writ which she issued from Stirling on August 31, commanding the magistrates of Edinburgh to

search out and punish without exception those who committed "adultrie, fornecatioun, oppin harlotrie, and utheris sic lustis of the flesche." Some colour is lent to Buchanan's story by the "Notes concerning David Chambers"—in whose house Bothwell is said to have been staying at the time with his wife—printed in Part II. of the Hatfield MSS. (p. 46), and evidently sent for Cecil's information during Mary's captivity in England, when Chambers himself was a fugitive on the Continent. The Notes refer to Chambers, or Chalmers, as he is there described, as having been educated in France, where he first made Bothwell's acquaintance, who subsequently promoted him to the provostry of Creithtown:

> By Bothwell's means also he was made a Lord of the State, and bare a great "swinge" with him all the time of his rule; not from any proof of learning or other good quality that appeared in him, but rather because he had served Bothwell as a bawd, and otherwise in his naughty practices and attempts. He was a great dealer betwixt the Queen and Bothwell, so as Mr. David's lodging was chosen as a place meet to exercise their filthiness into, the time before the King's murder, when as the Queen lay at the Checker House in the Cow-gate; and then, he was made Common Clerk of Edinburgh. This and other great presumptions gave cause to my Lord of Lennox in his letters to the Queen to accuse David as culpable and "participant" of the murder of the King his son.[1]

Those who accept Buchanan's account point to a passage in one of the Casket Sonnets—Sonnet IX.—as confirming the story of the condoned assault:

> Pour lui aussi je jette mainte larme.
> Premier quand il se fist de ce corps possesseur,
> Duquel alors il n'avoit pas le cœur.

It is difficult, however, to reconcile the theory of Mary's guilt at this period with the two letters which follow. On

[1] Chambers's Comparative History of Scotland, France and England was written in exile, after Langside.

the other hand, it is arguable that it was the possible continuance of this guilty liaison, with her dread of its natural consequences, which accounted for Mary's consternation when she heard that Darnley was now seriously thinking of taking flight abroad. Darnley realised only too well that Lethington's restoration to favour, and the certain prospect of the speedy return of the other exiles whom he had betrayed, boded him no good. The story of this incident is best told in the letters referred to :

SCOTTISH COUNCILLORS TO CATHERINE DE' MEDICI.

[Keith's "*Church and State in Scotland*," Vol. III.]

Madam, *October* 8, 1566.

The great benefit this nation has always reaped from the ancient confederacy and mutual good understanding between the two Crowns of France and Scotland emboldens us to transmit this narration to your Majesty, though we are sorry at the same time to have any grounds of complaint against those to whom we owe all dutiful obedience. The respect we bear to the King, as being husband to the Queen our Sovereign, on whom she has been pleased to confer so much honour, and raise him to so high a degree of dignity, inclines us to speak of him, and of everything that relates to him, with much modesty, and would dispose us joyfully to pass over in silence the huge injury he does to himself, to the Queen's Majesty, and of consequence to all of us here, if our concealing the same could have the influence to bury it in obscurity. But seeing that he himself is the very first person who by his deportment will needs discover it to the world, we can do no less, both for satisfying the office we bear, and the duty we owe to the Queen, than to testify the things which we have both seen and heard, to all those who are allied to her Majesty, especially to the King your son and your Majesty's own self, whom we look upon to be the principal supports of our Sovereign and her Crown :

that by these you may have opportunity to perceive the great trouble and vexation the Queen our Sovereign labours under at present, and the occasion of it.

About ten or twelve days ago, the Queen, at our request, came to this town of Edinburgh, to give her orders about some affairs of State, which without her personal presence could not be dispatched. Her Majesty was desirous the King should have come along with her, but because he liked to remain at Stirling, and wait her return thither, she left him there, with intention to go towards him again in five or six days. Meantime, while the Queen was absent, the Earl of Lennox, his father, came to visit him at Stirling, and having remained with him two or three days, he went his way again to Glasgow, the ordinary place of his abode. From Glasgow my Lord Lennox wrote to the Queen, and acquainted her Majesty, that although formerly both by letters and messages, and now also by communication with his son, he had endeavoured to divert him from an enterprise he had in view, he nevertheless had not the interest to make him alter his mind. This project, he tells the Queen, was to retire out of the kingdom beyond sea, and that for this purpose he had just then a ship lying ready.

The Earl of Lennox's letter came to the Queen's hand on St. Michael's Day (September 29), and her Majesty was pleased to impart the same incontinent to the Lords of her Council, in order to receive advice thereupon. And if her Majesty was surprised by this advertisement from the Earl of Lennox, these Lords were no less astonished to understand that the King, who may justly esteem himself happy upon account of the honour the Queen has been pleased to confer upon him, and whose chief aim should be to render himself grateful for her bounty, and behave himself honourably and dutifully towards her, should entertain any thought of departing after so strange a manner out of her presence, nor was it possible for them to form a conjecture whence such an imagina-

tion could take its rise. Their Lordships, therefore, took a resolution to talk with the King, that they might learn from himself the occasion of this hasty deliberation of his, if any such he had, and likewise that they might thereby be enabled to advise her Majesty after what manner she should comfort herself in this conjuncture.

The same evening the King came to Edinburgh, but made some difficulty to enter into the Palace, by reason that three or four Lords were at that time present with the Queen, and peremptorily insisted that they might be gone before he would condescend to come in: which deportment appeared to be abundantly unreasonable, since they were three of the greatest Lords of the kingdom, and that those Kings who by their own birth were Sovereigns of the realm have never acted in that manner towards the nobility. The Queen, however, received this behaviour as decently as was possible, and condescended so far as to go meet the King without the Palace, and so conducted him into her own apartment, where he remained all night; and then her Majesty entered calmly with him upon the subject of his going abroad, that she might understand from himself the occasion of such a resolution. But he would by no means give or acknowledge that he had any occasion offered him of discontent.

The Lords of Council being acquainted early next morning that the King was just a-going to return to Stirling, they repaired to the Queen's apartment, no other person being present, except their Lordships and M. du Croc, whom they prayed to assist with them as being here on the part of your Majesty. The occasion of their meeting together was then with all humility and reverence due to their Majesties proposed, namely, to understand from the King whether, according to advice imparted to the Queen by the Earl of Lennox, he had formed a resolution to depart by sea out of the realm, and upon what ground, and for what end—that if his resolution pro-

ceeded from some discontent, they were earnest to know what persons had afforded an occasion for the same—that if he could complain of any of the subjects of the realm, be they of what quality soever, the fault should be immediately repaired to his satisfaction. And here we did remonstrate to him, that his own honour, the Queen's honour, the honour of us all, were concerned; for if, without just occasion ministered, he would retire from the place where he had received so much honour, and abandon the society of her to whom he is so far obliged, that in order to advance him she has humbled herself, and from being his Sovereign, had surrendered herself to be his wife—if he should act in this sort, the whole world would blame him as ingrate, regardless of the friendship the Queen bare him, and utterly unworthy to possess the place to which she had exalted him. On the other hand, that if any just occasion had been given him, it behoved the same to be very important, since it inclined him to relinquish so beautiful a Queen and noble realm; and the same must have been afforded him either by the Queen herself, or by us her Ministers. As for us, we professed ourselves ready to do him all the justice he could demand; and for her Majesty, so far was she from ministering to him occasion of discontent, that, on the contrary, he had all the reason in the world to thank God for giving him so wise and virtuous a person as she had showed herself in all her actions.

Then her Majesty was pleased to enter into the discourse, and spoke affectionately to him, beseeching him that, seeing he would not open his mind in private to her the last night, according to her most earnest request, he would at least be pleased to declare before these Lords where she had offended him in anything. She likewise said that she had a clear conscience that in all her life she had done no action which could anywise prejudge either his or her own honour; but neverthless, that as she might perhaps have given him offence without design, she was willing to make amends as far as he should require, and

therefore prayed him not to dissemble the occasion of his displeasure, if any he had, nor to spare her in the least matter. But though the Queen and all others that were present, together with M. du Croc, used all the interest they were able to persuade him to open his mind, yet he would not at all own that he intended any voyage, or had any discontent, and declared freely that the Queen had given him no occasion for any. Whereupon he took leave of her Majesty, and went his way; so that we were all of opinion that this was but a false alarm the Earl of Lennox was willing to give her Majesty.

Nevertheless, by a letter which the King has since wrote to the Queen in a sort of disguised style, it appears that he still has it in his head to leave the kingdom, and there is advertisement otherwise that he is secretly preparing to be gone. Of all which, and what passed betwixt their Majesties and us, we could not fail to inform you, and to testify, like as we do by these presents, that so far as things could come to our knowledge, he has had no ground of complaint; but, on the contrary, that he has the very best of reason to look upon himself as one of the most fortunate princes in Christendom, could he but know his own happiness, and make use of the good fortune which God has put into his hands. It is true that in the letter he wrote the Queen, he grounds a complaint on two points. One is, that her Majesty trusts him not with so much authority, nor is at such pains to advance him and make him to be honoured in the nation as she at first did; and the other point is, that nobody attends him, and that the nobility desert his company. To these two points the Queen has made answer, that if the case be so he ought to blame himself, not her, for that in the beginning she had conferred so much honour upon him as came afterwards to render herself very uneasy, the credit and reputation wherein she had placed him having served as a shadow to those who have most heinously offended her Majesty; but, howsoever, that she has,

notwithstanding this, continued to show him such respect, that although they who did perpetrate the murder of her faithful servant, had entered her chamber with his knowledge, having followed him close at the back, and had named him the chief of their enterprise, yet would she never accuse him thereof, but did always excuse him, and was willing to appear as if she believed it not. And then as to his being not attended, the fault thereof must be charged upon himself, since she has always made an offer to him of her own servants. And for the nobility, they come to Court, and pay deference and respect according as they have any matters to do, and as they receive a kindly countenance, but that he is at no pains to gain them, and make himself beloved by them, having gone so far as to prohibit these noblemen to enter his room, whom she had first appointed to be about his person. If the nobility abandon him, his own deportment towards them is the cause thereof: for if he desire to be followed and attended by them, he must in the first place make them to love him, and to this purpose must render himself amiable to them, without which it will prove a most difficult task for her Majesty to regulate this point, especially to make the nobility consent that he shall have the management of affairs put into his hands, because she finds them utterly averse to any such matter.

And now your Majesty will by this narrative be able to form a judgment, whether or no the reasons be well grounded which the King alleges for the colouring over his project. We were willing to lay them before you, according to all the knowledge we have of them, most humbly beseeching your Majesty that if, in order to palliate his fault, any other persons shall happen to report any otherwise to you than what we write, your Majesty may not trust anything they shall contrive, in prejudice of the truth and of our testimony. And thus, Madam, we earnestly pray God may grant you health, and the accomplishment of all your desires.

M. DU CROC TO ARCHBISHOP BEATON.

[Keith's "*Church and State in Scotland*," Vol. III.]

JEDBURGH, *October* 15, 1566.

Monsieur,

On the 22nd day of the last month your brother Mr. Beaton arrived in Stirling, where he found this Queen in good health, as likewise the prince her son, who is a very fine child, and thrives so well, that against the time of his christening his godfathers will feel the weight of bearing him in their arms. They are looked for about the end of this month. The Queen is now returned from Stirling to Edinburgh, as being vacation season, which, as you know, continues in this country from August until Martinmas, and during which the nobility are convened to look after the public affairs of the Queen and her realm. The King, however, abode at Stirling, and he told me there that he had a mind to go beyond sea, in a sort of desperation. I said to him what I thought proper at the time, but still I could not believe that he was in earnest. Since that time the Earl of Lennox his father came to visit him; and he has written a letter to the Queen, signifying that it is not in his power to divert his son from his intended voyage and prays her Majesty to use her interest therein. This letter from the Earl of Lennox the Queen received on Michaelmas Day in the morning, and that same evening the King arrived here about ten of the clock. When he and the Queen were a-bed together, her Majesty took occasion to talk to him about the contents of his father's letter, and besought him to declare to her the ground of his designed voyage; but in this he would by no means satisfy her. Early next morning the Queen sent for me, and for all the Lords and other Councillors. As we were all met in their Majesties' presence, the Bishop of Ross by the Queen's commandment declared to the Council the King's intention to go beyond sea, for which purpose he had a ship lying ready to sail; and that her Majesty's information hereof proceeded not from the

rumour of the town, but from a letter written to her by his own father the Earl of Lennox, which letter was likewise read in the Council; and thereafter the Queen prayed the King to declare in presence of the Lords and before me the reason of his projected departure, since he would not be pleased to notify the same to her in private betwixt themselves. She likewise took him by the hand, and besought him for God's sake to declare if she had given him any occasion for this resolution; and entreated he might deal plainly, and not spare her. Moreover, all the Lords likewise said to him, that if there was any fault on their part, upon his declaring it, they were ready to reform it. And I likewise took the freedom to tell him, that his departure must certainly affect either his own or the Queen's honour—that if the Queen had afforded any ground for it, his declaring the same would affect her Majesty; as on the other hand, if he should go away without giving any cause for it, this thing could not at all redound to his praise; therefore, that since I was in this honourable employment, I could not fail, according to my charge, to give my testimony to the truth of what I had both formally seen, and did presently see.

After several things of this kind had passed amongst us, the King at last declared that he had no ground at all given him for such a deliberation; and thereupon he went out of the chamber of presence, saying to the Queen: "Adieu, Madam, you shall not see my face for a long space"; after which he likewise bade me farewell, and next, turning himself to the Lords in general, said: "Gentlemen, Adieu." He is not yet embarked, but we receive advertisement from day to day that he still holds on his resolution, and keeps a ship in readiness. It is in vain to imagine that he shall be able to raise any disturbance, for there is not one person in all the kingdom, from the highest to the lowest, that regards him any further than is agreeable to the Queen. And I never saw her Majesty so much beloved, esteemed, and honoured:

nor so great a harmony among all her subjects, as at present is by her wise conduct, for I cannot perceive the smallest difference or division.

P.S.—After I had finished this letter, the Queen resolved to delay her dispatch until she should be at this town of Jedburgh, and ordered me to follow her thither in five or six days, which I did. And during the five or six days that I continued at Edinburgh, the King, who had gone to Glasgow, sent me word to come and meet him half-way betwixt Edinburgh and Glasgow. I obeyed him, and found his father the Earl of Lennox with him. We had much communing together, and I remonstrated to him every thing that I could think of; and now I believe he will not go out of the kingdom, though I can perceive that he still entertains some displeasure. I came hither to Jedburgh, on purpose to signify to the Queen what the King had spoken to me, and what I had said to him.

While Darnley was sulking in Glasgow, and Mary planning to leave Edinburgh for the royal burgh of Jedburgh, in order to hold a Border Session there, Bothwell left for the Border itself, to restore order among the turbulent clansmen in Liddesdale. The trouble was an everyday occurrence and insignificant enough, but as it happened it nearly cost the Earl his life, and might have changed the whole course of British history. It was at first reported that in his skirmish with the notorious border robber, John Eliot of Park, Bothwell was found dead on the field. This distorted account of the affair was at once sent by Scrope to the English Court:

LORD H. SCROPE TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[Keith's "*Church and State in Scotland*," Vol. II.]

CARLISLE, *October* 8, 1566.

I have presently gotten intelligence out of Scotland, that the Earl of Bothwell, being in Liddesdale for the apprehension of certain disordered persons there, had apprehended the Lairds of Mangerton and White-

haugh, with sundry other Armstrongs of their surname and kindred, whom he had put within the Hermitage. And yesterday, going about to take such like persons of the Eliots, in pursuit of them, his Lordship being foremost, and far before his company, encountered one John Eliot of the Park, hand to hand, and shot him through the thigh with a dag [pistol], upon which wound the man, feeling himself in peril of death, with a two-handed sword assailed the Earl so cruelly that he killed him ere he could get any rescue or succour of his men.

Happy had it been for Mary, as Sir Walter Scott says in effect, had John Eliot's sword gone more home. As it was, he was wounded in three places, and, according to a later dispatch from Scrope, carried in a cart for dead. But he revived in his Castle of Hermitage, to learn with grim satisfaction that his assailant had been killed instead, and his head sent to Edinburgh. How Mary first received the news we have no means of knowing. Buchanan's flamboyant account of her headlong journey to see him in order to "bewray her outrageous lust" is wholly discredited by the facts. Instead of rushing headlong to the Hermitage, it was not until eight days after the mishap that she set out from Jedburgh on that memorable ride to Bothwell's stronghold, accompanied, not, as Buchanan asserts, by few and disreputable attendants, but by Murray, and several other Lords. Claude Nau, her secretary, declares that since everyone thought Bothwell would die—himself included—she was "both solicited and advised to pay him a visit at his house, in order that she might learn from him the state of affairs in these districts, of which the said Lord was the hereditary governor."[1] It is reasonable to assume, however, that Mary was hardly likely to undertake a ride of more than sixty miles in one day—for she returned to Jedburgh the same evening, and the distance by the easiest route has been estimated at upwards of sixty miles there and back—unless she had matters of deeper personal concern to discuss with the wounded Earl than the everyday disturbances of a lawless Border; more especially as she had lately been much troubled with the

[1] "History of Mary Stuart," p. 31.

Photo from "The Stuarts in Art" by J. J. Foster, with the permission of Messrs. Dickinson

JAMES HEPBURN, EARL OF BOTHWELL.

From a Miniature in the Collection of the Hon. Mrs. Boyle.
Painter unknown

spleen, "to which pain in her side," her secretary adds, "she had been more or less subject ever since her confinement."

Whatever the true reason for this much-discussed ride, there can be little doubt that it was largely responsible for the alarming illness which overtook the Queen shortly after her return to Jedburgh. For days Mary seemed to those around her to hang between life and death. Nau says that she was seized by the pain in her side and confined to her bed on the day following the expedition to the Hermitage (October 16), but the letter to Archbishop Beaton, signed by Huntly, Atholl, Murray, and Lethington on October 23, places the beginning of the illness a day later:

SCOTTISH COUNCILLORS TO ARCHBISHOP BEATON.

[Keith: "*Church and State in Scotland*," Vol. III.]

JEDBURGH, *October* 23, 1566.

My Lord,

After our hearty commendations, we understand that M. du Croc has presently sent this bearer expressly to advertise the Queen Mother of the danger of our Sovereign's disease, which is great indeed. And nevertheless, because we fear that the sudden advertisement thereof may raise bruit that the danger is greater than it appears to us, we have thought good to write these few lines unto you, that ye be not ignorant of the truth, which is, that her Majesty has been sick these six days past, and this night has had some fits of swooning, which put men in some fear; nevertheless we see no tokens of death, and hope in God that He will shortly relieve her Majesty, and restore her to her health, and will not suffer this poor realm to fall in that misery as to lack so good and gracious a Governor. All things are in God's hands; but assuredly, for our opinions, we see no appearance of death; which we write to the effect that neither you yourself be discouraged, nor suffer others to be, further than reason is. And so we commit your Lordship to God.

Your Lordship's assured friends,

HUNTLY. JAMES STEWART (E. MURRAY).
ATHOLL. W. MAITLAND (of Lethington).

On the following day Lethington wrote thus in confidence to Mary's Ambassador in Paris:

WM. MAITLAND OF LETHINGTON TO ARCHBISHOP BEATON.

[Laing's "*History of Scotland*," Vol. II.]

JEDBURGH, *October* 24, at night, 1566.

My Lord,

After most hearty commendation, yesterday in the morning M. du Croc dispatched away by post one named Alexander Bog to make advertisement to the Queen Mother in what state the Queen's Majesty then was, which indeed was not good, and with that same bearer it was written unto your Lordship. I think his advertisement was more desperate than there appeared cause to many, but truly her Majesty was very sorely handled, and looked herself for nothing but death. Since that time her Majesty is well relieved of the extremity of her sickness, and God has been so gracious to this poor country in the delivery of her from that danger that we have great cause to be thankful. Within three hours after the departure of the messenger, her Highness began to be better, and this night past took good rest, and has had such natural evacuations of the humours that caused her pain that now, praised be God, we think her out of all danger. By reason of M. du Croc's advertisement, and the bruit which is ever swifter in evil tidings than in good, I knew your Lordship would be ever in pain till you got new word, and therefore I thought it my duty to seek all occasions to make your Lordship be with speed informed of the truth of her recovery, to relieve you of that burden. For that cause I desired M. du Croc to write to the Ambassador that lies in London, and I promised by my means to make his letters be sent from Berwick to Mr. Cecil, and by him delivered in the Ambassador's hands. It shall be against my will if your Lordship in times coming be so evil advertised of all proceedings here as I hear you have been in times past.

The occasion of the Queen's sickness, so far as I understand, is caused of thought and displeasure, and I trow by what I could wring further of her own declaration to me, the root of it is the King. For she has done him so great honour without the advice of her friends, and contrary to the advice of her subjects, and he, on the other part, has recompensed her with such ingratitude, and misuses himself so far towards her, that it is heartbreaking for her to think that he should be her husband, and how to be free of him she sees no outgait. I write freely to your Lordship as to a man that, being employed in the charge you bear, should not be ignorant in what estate things stand at home, and yet as to a friend with whom I may safely communicate my opinion. I see betwixt them no agreement, nor no appearance that they shall agree well thereafter. At least I am assured that it has been her mind this good while, and yet is as I write. How soon, or in what manner, it may change, God knows. Upon some bruit that arose before her coming out of Edinburgh, of the King's voyage towards Flanders, or some other country, she desired the noblemen and others of the Council to subscribe letters to the King, Queen Mother, and Cardinal of Lorraine, containing a discourse of the proceedings betwixt the King and her. I send you presently the copy of the Queen Mother's letter, whereby you will understand the whole. As anything occurs, I shall make your Lordship advertisement, according to all occasions offered; not as the Queen's secretary, because since my returning to Court I have received as yet no charge to write to your Lordship; but as a man that is willing to do your Lordship pleasure and service. If there be anything in particular you will be willing to burden me with, assure yourself you have power to command me, and so leaving to trouble your Lordship any further I commit your Lordship to God.

On the same day the French Ambassador to Mary, M. du Croc, wrote to the Archbishop in similar terms, buoyed by

the hope that the crisis in the Queen's illness had been safely passed. His letter is here translated from the French text in "Keith":

M. DU CROC TO ARCHBISHOP BEATON.

[Keith's "*Church and State in Scotland*," Vol. III.]

JEDBURGH, *October* 24, 1566.

We begin to have more hope of the Queen, and for the present the doctors have no fears. She has vomitings after what she takes which are a little troublesome, but as to that, the doctors are not uneasy, for she sleeps very well and quietly. During the past night she slept five hours without waking, and I assure you her Majesty is well looked after. God knows how all the Lords who are here occupy themselves. You may imagine the trouble they are in, and the distress of this poor kingdom. The King is at Glasgow, and has never come here. If he has been informed by some one, and has had time enough to come if he wished, it is a fault which I cannot excuse. . . .

That very night the hopes of all the Queen's well-wishers were dashed to the ground by a relapse which for many hours filled them with despair. "Her whole body became so cold," writes Nau in his "Memorials," "that all present thought she was dead. . . . The Earl of Murray began to lay hands on the most precious articles, such as her silver plate and rings. The mourning dresses were ordered and arrangements made for the funeral." But presently the Queen's French physician, M. Arnault, detected some signs of life in one of her arms, and after hours of strenuous exertions, described in detail by M. Nau, and erroneously attributed to him by Bishop Lesley of Ross—succeeded in restoring her to consciousness:

BISHOP LESLEY TO ARCHBISHOP BEATON.

[Keith: "*Church and State in Scotland*," Vol. III.]

JEDBURGH, *October* 26-27, 1566.

My Lord,

After most hearty commendations, I write upon haste to your Lordship with Alexander Bog, who was

sent by M. Du Croc, this last Wednesday, to advertise of the Queen's Majesty's sickness, which at that time was wondrous great; for assuredly her Majesty was so handled with great vehemence, that all who were with her were despaired of her convalescence. Nevertheless, soon after the departing of Alexander Bog, her Majesty got some relief, which lasted until Friday at ten hours at even, at which time her Majesty swooned again, and failed in her sight; her feet and her knees were cold, which were handled by extreme rubbing, drawing and other cures, by the space of four hours, that no creature could endure greater pain; and through the vehemence of this cure her Majesty got some relief, until about six hours in the morning on Friday, when her Majesty became dead, and all her members cold, eyes closed, mouth fast, and feet and arms stiff and cold. Nevertheless, Master Nau, who is a perfect man of his craft, would not give the matter over in that manner, but anew began to draw her knees, legs, arms, feet, and the rest, with such vehement torments, which lasted the space of three hours, until her Majesty recovered again her sight and speech, and got a great sweating, which was held the relief of the sickness, because it was on the ninth day, which commonly is called the crisis of the sickness, and was here thought the cooling of the fever. And since continually, thanks to God, her Majesty convalesces better and better; but the vehement press of vomiting and laxative, with the great pain of rubbing and drawing of her members, which her Majesty has sustained, has made her so weak that she is not able hastily to travel forth from these parts.

Always, I assure your Lordship, in all this sickness her Majesty used herself marvellous godly and Catholic, and continually desired to hear speak of God and godly prayers, and caused me to remain continually with her to that effect, to remember her on her duty, and pray continually beside her. Her Majesty has made the most godly exhortations to all

the nobility being here at this present time, that ever prince or other made at such time, first making her confession to God of her offences; recognising Him Creator of all, and her to be the work of His hands, desiring His godly will to be fulfilled; that if it has pleased His Majesty to suffer her to remain in this present world for the governing of His people committed to her care, or to receive her to His bliss, she gladly will accept that thing which His godly will had appointed, and with as good a heart and will to die as to live; protesting always that she died in the Catholic Faith, in the which she was nourished and brought up; of the which her Majesty took me off to witness.

And thereafter turned her to her nobility, and beseeched them to take attendance to the governing of this our realm; and to the effect they may do the same the better, that they keep love, unity, and charity among themselves, rehearsing what great goodness comes of unity and concord, and by the contrary, of discord and desolation; and recommending also her son, the prince, to their governance, praying them affectionately to suffer none to be with him in company in his youth that were of evil conditions, or would give him evil example in manners, but that such were present with him who would and could instruct him in virtue and in all godliness, and not to suffer him to take or use any evil conditions and inclinations which may fall unto him through his father, mother, or any of his natural parents. Thereafter her Majesty recommended unto them the state of religion within this realm, praying them affectionately neither to trouble nor press any man in his conscience that professed the Catholic religion, aggravating much the prick and sting of conscience, which is a fair matter to press; with her own determination to die constant in the Catholic religion. Thereafter recommended her servants, some in particular, and some in general, to be rewarded for their good service.

Lastly.—Her Majesty sent for M. du Croc, and there, in his presence, declared her constant mind to die in the Catholic religion, the good mind her Majesty bore and bears at all time to the realm of France, and Crown thereof and alliance, and recommended her son, the prince, to the King and to Madame, the Queen Mother: and requested the nobility to keep their amity as she has done in time past, and to bring up her son in the same friendship; and desired Du Croc to make her hearty commendations to the King, the Queen Mother, the Cardinal, and others her friends in France, and desired him to request the King and Queen to grant a share of her dowry to reward her servants in France, with many other godly and profitable exhortations and prayers, so perfectly as never we heard any speak in the manner, being so handled with so great infirmities, whereof this is the summary. Thereafter the Lords here present, such as the Earls Huntly, Murray, Bothwell, Rothes, Caithness; Lords Livingston, Arbroath, Seton, Yester, Borthwick, Somervell, with many other Barons and Bishops, concluded and promised faithfully to retain themselves together till their coming to Edinburgh, and there to make a convention, and open the Queen's testament, and cause the same to be put to execution, if it may stand with the laws of the realm; otherwise, to appoint such for the governing of the country, and keeping of the prince as accorded with the law; and in the meantime to suffer no break in any part of the realm; and whoever attempts to begin any trouble in any part, they all shall be enemies to the beginner, besides that he shall be punished by the law.

And so this promise is made in case any thing happen, which is the best can be taken at this present. But I hope in Eternal God that He will not suffer us to be so plagued to take from us such a princess, which, if He does for our iniquities, we look for nothing but for great trouble in these parts, lest God in His goodness show His mercy upon us.

The King all this time remains in Glasgow, and is not come towards the Queen's Majesty. The Queen's Majesty is so weak in her person, that her Majesty cannot be hindered with any business concerning the Nuncio, . . . and therefore it is good you solicit the Cardinal of Lorraine to cause the Nuncio take patience, for her Grace is very desirous to have him here, but always would have his coming deferred till the baptism be ended. In the meantime it shall be good your Lordship bear him good company, that he take no evil opinion of the deferring of his answer, for the causes occurring. . . .

The Queen's physician and Master Nau have wondrous good hopes of her Grace's convalescence, in respect her Grace has passed this night without sickness, which was feared, by reason of her own conceit that she feared this Saturday at even to be sickest of all. But I trust God of His infinite goodness, through the prayers of many made for her at this present, has preserved her to the advancement of His glory, and comfort of His people committed to her care, whom I hope it to be well governed by her many years. It will please you send answer again with Captain Hay, the bearer. M. du Croc, seeing the Queen's Grace's infirmity to have made her weak, has written to the Ambassadors that if they be not come forth of France as yet, to remain still till he send word, or stay in London. My Lord Bothwell is here, who convalesces well of his wounds; and there is good obedience and quietness upon the Border both of England and Scotland. As any other occurs, your Lordship shall be advertised. I shall do diligence to collect the Queen's Grace's exhortations and latter declarations of her will, that so godly and virtuous sayings perish not, and send the same to you. But this I write for shortness, with the bearer at this present; and God Eternal be your helper.

Vester ex animo,

JOANNES, Episcopus Rossensis.

Bothwell, who was forced to travel to Jedburgh from the Hermitage in a horse-litter, displayed more anxiety concerning the Queen's illness than did her husband, who failed to appear upon the scene until a week later. Buchanan's account of Mary's conduct upon this occasion—how she repulsed Darnley, who had travelled post haste "to comfort her in her weakness," and removed Bothwell from his lodgings to her own house, "as it were in triumph over the King"—and had him placed in a room immediately below her own chamber; and how thereupon their guilty intercourse was conducted so openly that "they seemed to fear nothing more than that their wickedness should be unknown"—is too garbled to be reliable, even if it could survive the test of common sense. It is manifestly false in suggesting that the Queen's illness had its origin in reckless wrongdoing after Bothwell's arrival; for it was not until four days after her illness began that he was brought into the town on his horse-litter. Other contemporary accusers of Mary declared that Darnley was hawking and hunting in the West of Scotland in ignorance of his wife's illness, and could not appear any sooner on the scene; but both Lesley and Du Croc agree, in the letters now printed, that he was in Glasgow at the time. In any case, he deserved no warmer welcome than he seems to have received at her hands, for, to add to his other sins of omission and commission, he had lately sought to undermine the Queen's defences in the stronghold of her faith by treacherously complaining to the Pope, the King of France, her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and Philip of Spain that she was far from being all that she might be in the matter of religion. Contemporary statements to this effect are confirmed by Guzman's letter on the subject to Philip:

GUZMAN DE SILVA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *November* 13, 1566.

. . . I received to-day a letter dated the 1st instant, from the Queen of Scotland by one of her servants who is on his way to France and Rome. He has been instructed to tell me that the Queen had heard

that her husband had written to your Majesty, the Pope, the King of France and Cardinal Lorraine, that she was dubious in the faith, and asked me to assure your Majesty, that as regards religion she will never with God's help fail to uphold it with all the fervour and constancy which the Roman Catholic Christian religion demands. That in the religion in which she was born and bred she will remain for ever, even though it may entail the loss of her crown and life, and she will postpone all things for its benefit. Although she has instructed this man to assure me verbally in the matter of the King her husband, she has in addition written to me as regards her steadfastness in the faith, and her servant has shown me, signed by the hand of the Queen, his instructions in this respect, and has himself confirmed it as an eye-witness, saying that when she was supposed to be on the point of death, she had fulfilled all the holy duties that the Catholic Church enjoins. She had confessed, had had Mass said before her by her almoner, that she might adore the Holy Sacrament, since her constant vomiting made it impossible for her to receive it herself; she had demanded extreme unction with pious devotion, although it was not necessary to administer it; and I believe from all that has ever been heard of the Queen, she is as faithful in religion as she professes to be. It seems to me, however, difficult to believe that her husband should have taken such a course, and it must be some French device to sow discord. They are a strange people. This man bears the Queen's order with consent of her Lords for a Nuncio to go to Scotland, and to assure the Pope that the prince will be baptised in the Roman Church.

That Darnley's behaviour had something to do with her collapse at Jedburgh is quite likely. Various reasons for this were given, besides the long ride to the Hermitage. Nau hints at poison, but no support is given to this theory by "a distinguished physician"—quoted by Mr. Small in his

"Queen Mary at Jedburgh" (p. 18)—whose diagnosis, based on all the recorded symptoms, is to the effect that Mary's illness was due to "an attack of ræmatamesis, or effusion of blood into the stomach, subsequently discharged by vomiting; presenting also, possibly, hysterical complications, the whole induced by over-exertion and vexation." The Venetian Ambassador in Paris heard—apparently from Archbishop Beaton—that "the illness was caused by her dissatisfaction at a decision made by the King, her husband, to go to a place twenty-five or thirty miles distant, without assigning any cause for it; which departure so afflicted this unfortunate princess, not so much for the love she bears him, as from the consequences of his absence, reducing her to the extremity heard of by your Signory."[1] What passed between Mary and Darnley on his belated arrival in the royal sick-chamber at Jedburgh is a matter of dispute, like every scene in the ensuing drama. Apparently he did not find his reception cordial enough to keep him more than one night at Jedburgh, for on the following day he returned to Glasgow.

More than another week elapsed before Mary was able to continue her interrupted tour of the Border, accompanied by Bothwell, as well as Murray, Huntly, Lethington and Hume, and a guard of nearly a thousand horse. At Kelso, whence Lethington rather prematurely informed Cecil that the Queen was "restored perfectly to health,"[2] she is reported by Buchanan in his "Detection" to have received the letters from Darnley which caused her in the presence of Murray, Huntly and Lethington, to "cast one piteous look, and miserably torment herself, as if she would have incontinently fallen down again into her former sickness; and she plainly and expressly protested that unless she might by some means or other be dispatched of the King, she would never have any good day; and if by no other way she could attain it, rather than she would abide to live in such sorrow, she would slay herself."

That Lethington overstated the case when he referred to Mary's recovery is clear from Du Croc's letter in the following month, as will be seen, in which he referred to "a deep

[1] Venetian Calendar, Vol. VII., p. 388.
[2] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 145.

grief and sorrow" as the principal part of her disease. Nevertheless, she continued her tour, and reaching the Border near Berwick, sent word through Murray to Sir John Forster, Elizabeth's deputy governor, that she desired to pass through part of the bounds towards Coldingham. Whereupon Forster, taking with him only forty horsemen —after causing the gates of the English stronghold to be locked after him, and ordering all the soldiers to be on the walls with arms and armour—rode to the "Bound Road," and met her with her much stronger escort:

She said—to quote from the summary of his dispatch to Cecil on November 16—there had been much cumbers between these two realms, but she would never give occasion of any wars to England. She said he had been a favourer of Morton and his company.[1] He said until he had received directions from the Queen for their passing out of this realm he had used them friendly, but as soon as she commanded him to avoid them he had no dealings with them. He discoursed of their Border matters, and she called Bothwell, Cessford and Hume and commanded them to cause rule to be kept.[2]

Hearing that the Queen had long desired to view the town of Berwick, the deputy governor, wrote Lethington in one of his letters at the time, "conveyed her Highness to Halidon Hill, where she might have the perfect view thereof," and after seeing the whole ordnance shot in her honour, he escorted her almost to Eyemouth, "doing all the humanity and honour to her Highness that was possible to him."[3]

While at Dunbar Mary seized the opportunity presented by the heated debate in the English House of Commons, reports of which reached her on the Border, of writing direct to Elizabeth's Council on the subject of her own and her son's right to the English succession:

[1] Martin Hume makes a curious mistake in quoting this letter in his "Love Affairs of Mary, Queen of Scots." Mary is made to state that *she* was the favourer of Morton—"a mere passing politeness it seemed," remarks Martin Hume, "but it was the death-warrant of her husband." The mistake, of course, completely nullifies the author's arguments in that connexion.

[2] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 147.

[3] Keith's "Church and State of Scotland," Vol. II., p. 470.

MARY STUART TO QUEEN ELIZABETH'S COUNCIL.

[Strickland's "*Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots*," and Ellis's "*Original Letters*."]

DUNBAR, *November* 18, 1566.

Right trusty and well beloved cousins,[1] we greet you well.

Whereas we have understood by the report of our familiar servitor, Robert Melville, the good offers made in our behoof by the Queen our good sister, your Sovereign, we think ourself obliged to do to her whatsoever a good sister and tender cousin ought, where she finds so great thankfulness; and that we could not declare the affection we bear toward our dearest sister better than by that which we did when we looked not to have brooked this life twelve hours in our late sickness: at which time our meaning was, that the special care of our son should rest upon our said good sister.[2]

We believe ye have always been good Ministers to move your Sovereign to show her own reasonable favour to our advancement in that which is right, and firmly believe ye shall so continue. We take ourself (as we doubt not ye know) to be the Queen your Sovereign's next cousin, and, next herself and the lawful issue of her body, to have the greatest interest of all other to that which has been (as is reported) lately moved in the Parliament House. And albeit we be not of mind to press our good sister further than shall come of her own good pleasure to put that matter in question, yet because in that case we will be judged by the laws of the realm of England, we do earnestly require you to have respect to justice with indifference, whensoever it shall please the Queen your Sovereign to put the same matter in deliberation. As to us, we will in

[1] It was etiquette for the princes of the English blood-royal to address all peers of the realm as their cousins.

[2] It is curious, as Dr. Hay Fleming observes, that in each of the four surviving accounts of Mary's speeches at that critical time neither England nor Elizabeth is so much as mentioned. In each of them, on the contrary, it is declared that she commended her son to the Scottish nobles, and to the King and Queen Mother of France; while two of them represent her as speaking in favour of the French alliance.

nowise insist therein until such time as it shall please herself to give us warning. We desire you, in the meantime, to have that opinion of us, that as we mean to continue all our life in good intelligence with the Queen your Sovereign and realm, so, if any prince were to offend the same, we would withstand him at our utter power; and that ye cannot advise our dearest sister to extend her favour towards any that shall acknowledge it in a better sort. And so we commit you to the protection of God.

From Dunbar Mary proceeded by way of Tantallon to Craigmillar Castle, near Edinburgh, "where she minds to stay," wrote Lethington, "until her passing next to Stirling to the baptism, which is deferred to December 12, because of the long tarrying of the Ambassador of Savoy."[1] Craigmillar leads us to the historic Conference which brought the Darnley tragedy another step on the road towards its inevitable end. "The Protestation of Huntly and Argyll," relating to that event, was probably never seen by either of those Lords. It was drawn up by Lord Boyd's advice to Mary after her imprisonment in England, "conform to the declaration" made by Huntly to Bishop Lesley, "he knowing your deliberation and will thereunto," as Mary reminded him in sending it with a covering letter from Bolton at the beginning of 1569 for Huntly and Argyll's signature.[2] With Mary's persistent ill-luck both documents fell instead into the hands of Cecil's agents, and never crossed the Border:

THE "PROTESTATION" OF THE EARLS OF HUNTLY AND ARGYLL.

[Goodall's "*Examination.*"]

In the year of God 1566, in the month of December, or thereby, after her Highness's great and extreme sickness, and returning from Jedburgh, her Grace being in the castle of Craigmillar, accompanied by us above written, and by the Earls of Bothwell, Murray, and Secretary Lethington; the said Earl of Murray

[1] Keith's "Church and State in Scotland," Vol. II., p. 471.
[2] Goodall's "Examination," Vol. II., p. 315.

and Lethington came in the chamber of us the Earl of Argyll in the morning, we being in our bed; who lamenting the banishment of the Earl of Morton, Lords Lindsay and Ruthven, with the rest of their faction, said that the occasion of the murder of David, slain by them in the presence of the Queen's Majesty, was for to trouble and impeach the Parliament; wherein the Earl of Murray and others should have been forfeited, and declared rebels. And seeing that the same was chiefly for the welfare of the Earl of Murray, it should be esteemed ingratitude if he and his friends, in reciprocal manner, did not enterprise all that were in their puissance for relief of the said banished; wherefore they thought that we, of our part, should have been as desirous thereto as they were.

And we agreeing to the same, to do all that was in us for their relief, providing that the Queen's Majesty should not be offended thereat; on this Lethington declared and said "That the nearest and best way to obtain the said Earl of Morton's pardon, was to promise to the Queen's Majesty to find any means to make divorcement betwixt her Grace and the King her husband, who had offended her Highness so highly in many ways." Whereunto we answering, that we knew not how that might be done, Lethington said, the Earl of Murray being ever present, "My Lord, care you not thereof. We shall find the means well enough to make her quit of him, so that you and my Lord of Huntly will only behold the matter, and not be offended thereat." And then they send to my Lord of Huntly, praying him to come to our chamber. This is as they dealt with us particularly. Now let us show what followed after that we were assembled.

We, Earl of Huntly, being in the said chamber, the said Earl of Murray and Lethington opened the matter likewise to us in manner aforesaid, promising, if we would consent to the same, that they should find the means to restore us in our own lands and offices, and they to stand good friends unto us, and cause the said

Earl of Morton, Ruthven, and all the rest of that company, to do the like in time coming. Our answer was, it should not stop by us, that the matter come not to effect, in all might be profitable and honourable both for them and us, and specially where the pleasure, will and contentment of the Queen's Majesty consisted. And thereupon we four, namely, Earls of Huntly, Argyll, Murray, and Secretary Lethington, passed all to the Earl of Bothwell's chamber, to understand his advice on this thing proposed; wherein he gainsaid not more than we.

So thereafter we passed altogether towards the Queen's Grace; where Lethington, after he had reminded her Majesty of a great number of grievous and intolerable offences that the King, as he said, ungrateful of the honour received of her Highness, had done to her Grace, and continuing every day from evil to worse; proposed, "That if it pleased her Majesty to pardon the Earl of Morton, Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, with their company, they should find the means with the rest of the nobility to make divorcement betwixt her Highness and the King her husband, which should not need her Grace to meddle therewith. To the which it was necessary that her Majesty take heed to make resolution therein, as well for her own easement as well of the realm; for he troubled her Grace and us all; and remaining with her Majesty, would not cease till he did her some other evil turn, when that her Highness would be much hindered to put remedy thereto."

After their persuasions and other divers, which the said Lethington used, besides these, that every one of us showed particularly to her Majesty to bring her to the said purpose, her Grace answered, "That under two conditions she might understand the same; the one, that the divorcement were made lawfully; the other, that it was not prejudice to her son; otherwise her Highness would rather endure all torments, and abide the perils that might chance her in her Grace's lifetime." The Earl of Bothwell answered, "That he

doubted not but the divorcement might be made without prejudice in any way of my Lord Prince;" alleging the example of himself, that he ceased not to succeed to his father's heritage without any difficulty, albeit there was divorce betwixt him and his mother.

It was also proposed, that after their divorcement the King should be alone in one part of the country, and the Queen's Majesty in another, or else he should retire him in another realm; and hereon her Majesty said, "That peradventure he would change opinion, and that it were better that she herself for a time passed in France, abiding till he acknowledged himself." Then Lethington—taking the speech—said, "Madame, fancy you not we are here of the principal of your Grace's nobility and council, that shall find the means that your Majesty shall be quit of him without prejudice of your son. And albeit that my Lord of Murray here present be little less scrupulous for a Protestant, nor your Grace is for a Papist, I am assured he will look through his fingers thereto, and will behold our doings, saying nothing to the same." The Queen's Majesty answered, "I will that you do nothing by which any spot may be laid to my honour or conscience, and therefore I pray you rather let the matter be in the estate as it is, abiding till God of His goodness put remedy thereto; that you believing to do me service may possibly turn to my hurt and displeasure." "Madame (said Lethington), let us guide the matter amongst us, and your Grace shall see nothing but good, and approved by Parliament."

So after the premises, the murder of the said Henry Stewart following, we judge in our consciences, and held for certain and truth, that the said Earl of Murray and Secretary Lethington were authors, inventors, devisers, counsellors, and causers of the said murder, in what manner or by whatsoever persons the same was executed.

Although neither Huntly nor Argyll signed the "Protestation" they were among the signatories to another document,

drawn up in Mary's defence by her Scottish adherents, which supports this account of the Conference:

> They caused make offers to our Sovereign Lady, if her Grace would give remission to them that were banished at that time, to find causes of divorce, either for consanguinity, in respect they alleged the dispensation was not published, else for adultery; or to get him convicted of treason, because he consented to her Grace's retention in ward; or what other ways to dispatch him; which altogether her Grace refused, as is manifestly known.[1]

In his reply to the "Protestation," Murray did not deny that there had been some sort of Conference at Craigmillar, and it is easy to read more in his words than appears on the surface. The point which he makes of having signed no band at Craigmillar is not so irrelevant as some of his critics make out. Possibly it referred to the band for Darnley's murder which Huntly and Argyll had signed somewhere about this period, according to Ormiston's confession before his execution, seven years later, for his share in the murder. Ormiston declared that Lethington and Sir James Balfour had also signed this band, which was shown to him by Bothwell as his safeguard when the cry went up for vengeance.[2] When Ormiston expressed his reluctance to have anything to do with it, Bothwell is said to have replied: "Tush, Ormiston, ye need not take fear of this, for the whole Lords have concluded the same lang syne in Craigmillar, all that were there with the Queen, and none dare find fault with it when it shall be done."[3] John Hepburn, another of Bothwell's henchmen, who was executed for complicity in the crime at the same time, confessed that on "the night of the deed he thought that no man durst say it was evil done, seeing the handwriting, and acknowledging the Queen's mind thereto."[4]

[1] Goodall's "Examination," Vol. II., p. 359.
[2] Laing's "History of Scotland," Vol. II., p. 231.
[3] Pitcairn's "Criminal Trials," Vol. I., Part ii., p. 511.
[4] Laing's "History of Scotland," Vol. II., p. 359.

The "Detection" declares that it was Mary who first mooted the possibility of divorce at the Craigmillar Conference:

About the end of November she came to Craigmillar, a castle about two miles from Edinburgh. There, in presence of the Earl of Murray, the Earls of Huntly and Argyll, and the Secretary, she fell into her former discourse, and also added the most commodious way, as she thought, in which it might be brought to pass; that is, to sue a divorce against the King. And she doubted not it might easily be obtained, forasmuch as they were, the one to the other, in such degree of consanguinity as, by the Papal law, might not marry together; especially (which it was easy for her to do) if the bull were recalled whereby the said law had been dispensed with. Here some one cast a doubt that if she should go that way to work their son would be made a bastard, being born out of lawful wedlock, especially since neither of the parents was ignorant of the cause whereby the marriage would be void. When she had one while tossed this answer in her mind and knew that it was true, and that she dare not as yet disclose her purpose to make away with her son, she gave over that device of divorce, and from that day forward she never ceased to pursue her intention of murdering the King.

After all these arguable and contradictory documents it is a relief to return to the letters actually written at the time, without knowledge of the ultimate result. M. du Croc carries us from the fateful days at Craigmillar to the scene of the royal baptism at Stirling, a pageant which, instead of filling Mary's heart with joy, only intensified her anguish, and brought the tragedy nearer:

M. DU CROC TO ARCHBISHOP BEATON.

[Strickland's "*Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots.*"]

EDINBURGH, *December* 6, 1566.

The Queen is at present at Craigmillar, about a league distant from this city. She is in the hands of

physicians, and I do assure you is not at all well; and I do believe the principal part of her disease to consist in a deep grief and sorrow, nor does it seem possible to make her forget the same; still she repeats the words, "I could wish to be dead!" You know very well the injury her Majesty hath received is very great, and she can never forget it.

The King her husband came to visit her at Jedburgh, the very day after Captain Hay went away. He remained there but one single night, and yet in that short time I had a great deal of conversation with him. He returned to see the Queen five or six days ago, and the day before yesterday he sent word to desire me to speak with him half a league from this city, which I complied with, and found that things go still worse and worse. I think he intends going away to-morrow; but at all events, I am assured that he is not to be present at the baptism. To speak my mind freely to you (but I beg you not to repeat it to my prejudice), I do not expect, upon several accounts, any good understanding between them, unless God especially put His hand in it. I shall only name two reasons against it: the first is, the King will never humble himself as he ought; the other, that the Queen cannot perceive him speaking with any nobleman but presently she suspects some plot among them. Meantime, the Queen reckons to be going to Stirling five or six days hence, and the baptism is appointed to be there on the 12th of this month.

STIRLING, *December* 23, 1566.

The baptism of the prince took place Tuesday last here at Stirling, when he received the name of Charles James. It was the Queen's pleasure that he should bear the name of James, together with that of Charles [the King of France's name], because she said all the good Kings of Scotland, his predecessors, who have been closely allied with the Crown of France, were called by the name of James. Everything, I assure you, was done at the baptism according to the form of

the holy Roman Catholic Church. The King had still given out that he would depart two days before the baptism, but when the time came on he made no sign of removing at all, only he still kept close to his own apartment.

The very day of the baptism he sent three several times, desiring me either to come to see him, or to appoint him an hour that he might come to me in my lodging [lodging-rooms in the castle]; so I found myself obliged to signify to him, that seeing he was in no good correspondence with the Queen, I had it in charge from the most Christian King of France, my master, to hold no conference with him, and I sent to tell him, likewise, that as it would not be very proper for him to come to my apartment, because there was such a crowd of company there, so he ought to be aware there were two passages to it, and if he should enter by the one, I should feel myself compelled to go out at the other.

His bad deportment is incurable, nor can there be any good expected from him, for several reasons which I might tell you were I present with you. I cannot pretend to tell how it may all turn out, but I will say that matters cannot subsist long as they are without being accompanied by many bad results.

The Queen behaved admirably well at the time of the baptism, and showed so much earnestness to entertain all the good company in the best manner that in the meantime she forgot all her indisposition. I am, however, of opinion that she will give us some anxiety yet: I cannot be brought to think otherwise, so long as she continues so pensive and melancholy. She sent for me yesterday; I found her laid on her bed and weeping sore. She complained of a grievous pain in her side, and from a concurrence of evils it chanced that the day her majesty set out from Edinburgh to this place she hurt one of her breasts on the horse, which she told me is now swelled. I am much grieved for the many troubles and vexations she meets with.

The baptism was made the occasion of the customary interchange of diplomatic insincerities between the rival Queens. Elizabeth certainly paid her share handsomely with the font of massive gold for her godson—weighing 333 ounces—which Bedford took with him, as well as the following, among other instructions:

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S INSTRUCTIONS TO THE EARL OF BEDFORD.

[Keith's "*Church and State of Scotland*," Vol. II.]

The first cause of your sending is: Seeing the Queen of Scotland required us to be godmother to the prince of Scotland, her son, as also the French King and Duke of Savoy to be godfathers; and the French King hath sent the son of Byron to represent him, as the Marquis of Chambery doth the Duke: we have sent you to her to tell her that, according to our former agreement, upon her first sending to us, we have dispatched you to assist and attend such a person in her realm, who is our dear and well-beloved cousin the Countess of Argyll,[1] whom with allowance of our good sister we have appointed and required to supply her place, because now, being winter, we could not well send any of the ladies of our realm. We have the rather made choice of her, hearing how dear she is to our good sister. You shall deliver our letter to that Countess, with our most hearty recommendations, and our earnest request to take the pains to supply our place, which surely with all our heart we would gladly do ourself as she shall, if commodity and convenience could as well suffer it as our desire could further it. As for the behaviour at this christening, you shall govern yourself so as shall be most for our honour, and

[1] Queen Elizabeth probably selected the Countess of Argyll to be her proxy at the baptism of James VI., as much on account of her royal descent, though illegitimate, as from personal considerations, that lady having been the daughter of James V. by Elizabeth, daughter of John Lord Carmichael, and consequently Queen Mary's sister and Queen Elizabeth's cousin. It was the Countess of Argyll who was supping with Queen Mary on the night of Riccio's murder.

pleasure of our good sister; and to avoid such things as be against your conscience, and contrary to the religion we profess, it is best to imitate the example of Murray and the other Lords of the same religion, for which they have the permission of that Queen. At convenient time you are to present her the font of gold which we send with you; you may say pleasantly that it was made as soon as we heard of the prince's birth, and then it was big enough for him, but now, he being grown, is too big for it; therefore it may be better used for the next child, provided it be christened before it outgrow the font. . . .

And as for what passed of late betwixt our said sister and us, as well by Melville and otherwise, concerning the title to be here considered and declared, we think therein she did not design to molest us, considering she found the same disagreeable to us, and we think she should be satisfied with such answers as we formerly made, namely, that we never would (do) or suffer anything to be done prejudicial to her right, and would earnestly prohibit and suppress all attempts, directly or indirectly, against the same, and that she might well assure herself of our amity. And that if any motion shall be made that way she may trust to our friendship, and will meet with as much favour and furtherance as justice and equity can anywise devise to her contentation. . . .

And before parting you may tell her in our name that we saw nothing so fit to prevent the designs of those who are for stirring up troubles than to have a mutual confirmation of a treaty of perpetual amity, and an assurance of her part to us, according to a clause in the Treaty of Edinburgh, and the same assurance for us to her that we would neither do nor attempt, nor suffer to be attempted, anything derogatory to her title to be next heir after us and our children; whereof the one part to be made by her to us is just, and you may say to be demanded, and by the denying of it we may conceive some want of good meaning to us, which we are willing to do. And as

for the other part, though we are not bound thereto, yet we are content, from the favour we bear to her, to engage ourselves in as good sort as she shall do for the other, and so quit her with a benefit of mere good will, for that which justly we claim to be done by her.

You may deal with such of her Council whom you find best addicted to the amity, that they may be satisfied that this is the most certain and only way to preserve the amity; and that without such provisions, though we are inclined to preserve it, yet occasions will happen to incline either of us to be jealous one of another, which cannot be remedied but by the proceeding foresaid.

Elizabeth's golden gift, unfortunately, did not long survive its perilous passage from London;[1] it suffered the indignity at Mary's hands of being sent to the mint after Darnley's murder, to be turned into pieces of three pounds Scottish and other coin.[2] That the rites of the Roman Church were observed at the baptismal ceremony "was very much to the satisfaction of the Catholics, who for the last seven years have never seen a bishop in pontifical habits," wrote the Venetian Ambassador in Venetian to the Signory after receiving a full account from the Count de Brienne, who carried the prince from his chamber into the Chapel Royal:

The Ambassador from England would not enter the church, but prayed the Countess of Argyll, known as the Bastard of Holland, to go thither in his stead, and presented her for her trouble with a ruby worth five hundred crowns. The Count de Brienne presented the Queen of Scotland, in the name of the King of France, with a necklace of pearls and rubies,

[1] "Certain who had heard of the font laid wait in a place not far from Doncaster, but missing it thought not to trouble themselves with baser things and did no harm."—Bedford to Cecil, Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 151.

[2] Only six pounds weight were left of the font when the Lords searched the Mint after sending Mary to Lochleven in the following June.—Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 252.

and two most beautiful earrings. Much greater was the present from England, as it was a font of massive gold, of sufficient proportions to immerse the infant prince, and of exquisite workmanship, with many precious stones, so designed that the whole effect combined elegance with value. M. de Moretta, Ambassador from the Duke of Savoy, on his passage through this place, told me that he had with him as a present a fan of large size with jewelled feathers, of the value of four thousand crowns.[1]

Pope Pius V., though Mary had declined to adopt the drastic measures proposed by the Nuncio as an earnest of her good faith, was reassured by the news of the ceremony, and saw in it the beginning of Scotland's return to its old allegiance:

POPE PIUS V. TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

[Father Pollen's "*Papal Negotiations.*"]

ROME, *January* 22, 1567.

We conceive great joy over the son that was born to you. We congratulate your Highness anew on so great a gift from God, and we think that we may count on all else that pertains to the salvation of that kingdom after such a commencement. As for your care in having him baptized in public, we praise your pious zeal for bringing back into use and practice the holy rites of the Catholic Church for the administration of so great a sacrament. May the merciful Lord grant that by this example all those who have been miserably deceived by heretics about the sure and salutary use of this and other sacraments may be moved to receive them rightly and to their salvation, and that, after rejecting the darkness of error, they may receive the light of Catholic truth! May God for ever preserve to your son the grace received at the holy font! May He increase day by day the joy you receive from your child, and crown what He has given with many other gifts and graces!

[1] Venetian Calendar, Vol. VII., p. 387.

Although Bedford—extreme Protestant that he was—did not witness the ceremony, he accompanied the prince to and from the doors of the Chapel Royal, and took part in the later celebrations. The Countess of Argyll had subsequently to do penance for being unable to resist the double temptation of Bedford's bribe and the baptism itself, being ordered by the General Assembly in the following December to "make public repentance in the Chapel Royal upon a Sunday in time of preaching" for attending this baptism performed in a "papistical manner." It was strange, while Darnley was only conspicuous by his absence, that Bothwell, an avowed Protestant, should have been given charge of the arrangements for the ceremony. "Bothwell is appointed to receive the Ambassadors, and all things for the christening are at his appointment," wrote Sir John Forster to Cecil, "and the same scarcely liked with the rest of the nobility."[1] The only incident which marred the festivities from the English point of view was Bastien's masque at the State banquet, described by Sir James Melville in his "Memoirs." "Here," says Melville, "there fell out a great grudge among the Englishmen, for a Frenchman called Bastien devised a number of men formed like satyrs with long tails and whips in their hands, running before the meat, which was brought through the great hall upon a machine or engine, marching, as appeared, alone, with musicians clothed like maids, singing and playing upon all sorts of instruments. But the satyrs were not content only to make way or room, but put their hands behind them to their tails, which they wagged with their hands in such sort as the Englishmen supposed it had been devised and done in derision of them, weakly apprehending that which they should not have appeared to understand." Sir James proceeds to narrate that most of the gentlemen in the suite of the Earl of Bedford "desired to sup before the Queen and great banquet, that they might see the better order and ceremonies of the triumph, but so soon as they perceived the satyrs wagging their tails they all sat down upon the bare floor behind the back of the table, that they might not see themselves derided, as they thought. Mr. Hatton," one of the English gentle-

[1] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 155.

men, "said unto me, if it were not in the Queen's presence he would put a dagger in the heart of that French knave Bastien, who, he alleged, had done it out of despite that the Queen made more of them than of the Frenchmen. I excused the matter the best I could, but the noise was so great behind the Queen's back, where her Majesty and my Lord of Bedford did sit, that they heard and turned about their faces to inquire what the matter meant. I informed them it was occasioned by the satyrs, so that the Queen and my Lord of Bedford had both enough to do to get them appeased."

The year closed with a succession of incidents fraught with deep significance in view of the impending tragedy. On December 23 Mary restored the consistorial jurisdiction of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, which had been abolished since 1560. It was this infamous old Archbishop Hamilton who officiated at the christening ceremony, and who subsequently pronounced the decree of divorce between Bothwell and his wife. This, it has been stated by some writers, was pronounced in virtue of Mary's illegal warrant restoring the jurisdiction of his ecclesiastical courts, in which case it was the only use which the Archbishop is known to have made of his revived authority. "If there was the slightest evidence to show that Mary was cognisant of the schemes of Bothwell," as Hosack admits, "the restoration of the consistorial jurisdiction at this time would be a circumstance of strong suspicion." On December 27, however, the General Assembly petitioned the Privy Council to "stay the same," and on January 9 Bedford told Cecil that Mary, at Murray's request, had revoked the authority. This supports the theory that Bothwell's divorce was obtained by means of a special commission.

CHAPTER V

THE MURDER OF DARNLEY

Mary Pardons the Riccio Conspirators—Darnley's Fears—A Victim to Small-pox—Mary's Alleged Immoralities—Early Rumours of the Plot against Darnley—Mary's Bitter Complaint to Beaton—The Archbishop's Warning—Darnley Visited by Mary at Glasgow—Her Secret Visit from Morton's "Jackal"—Crawford's Deposition—The Casket Letters—How the Controversy Stands To-day—The Crucial Letter—Murray's Early Reference to It—Mary Conducts Darnley to Kirk o' Field—His Last Letter to his Father—Alleged Fight with Lord Robert Stuart—The Assassination—Buchanan's Account—Letters from Mary and her Council—Other Narratives—Elizabeth's Reception of the News.

On the day following her injudicious restoration of Archbishop Hamilton to his consistorial jurisdiction, Mary signed the pardon of Ruthven, Lindsay, and the rest of the Riccio conspirators, with the exception of George Douglas, Morton's illegitimate kinsman, whose crimes were notorious. Her hitherto implacable hatred had been softened both by Bedford and Murray, but, as Bedford told Cecil on December 30, "the Earls of Bothwell and Atholl and all the other Lords helped therein, else it should not so soon have been gotten."[1] Bothwell, adds the same correspondent in a later letter, joined with Murray "like a very friend" to obtain redress for Morton.[2] As soon as Darnley learned that the pardon had been signed he left Stirling Castle abruptly for his father's house in Glasgow. He knew the danger that lurked for him in the recall from exile of the men whom he had betrayed. Perhaps he remembered that it was in Stirling Castle that the Earl of Douglas had been stabbed by James II.; and he realised only too well that his enemies would have little compunction in assigning him a similar fate.

Small-pox almost robbed them of their revenge, for it seized Darnley not long after his arrival at his father's house. It was during his recovery from this disease that he was done

[1] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth Vol. VIII., p. 159.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 164.

to death. By some it was declared that he had been poisoned before leaving Stirling; by others that his illness was a virulent attack of what is now referred to as the hidden plague; but small-pox is known to have been raging in Glasgow at the time, and both Nau and Bedford report him as suffering from that disease.

Meantime Mary spent Christmas with Bothwell at Drummond Castle, on a visit to Lord Drummond, while her brother, the Earl of Murray, was entertaining the Earl of Bedford at St. Andrews. Before Murray's return at the beginning of the New Year, she also spent a night on a visit, accompanied by Bothwell, to her comptroller, Sir William Murray, the Laird of Tullibardine. "In what order they were chambered during their stay in these two houses"—says "The Book of Articles," put in against Mary by her accusers—"many found fault with, but dared not reprove. How lascivious also their behaviour was, it was very strange to behold, notwithstanding the news of the King's grievous infirmity, who was departed for Glasgow, and there fallen in deadly sickness." [1] Buchanan, in his "Detection," is even more emphatic upon the subject of their alleged "filthy wickedness" on these occasions, also declaring that the Queen would not so much as allow any physician to attend Darnley in his illness. Here, however, he is contradicted by Bedford, who, in his letter to Cecil on January 9, states that Mary sent her own physician, but, he adds, "the agreement between the Queen and her husband is nothing amended." [2] That rumours of a plot against Darnley were current in London by January 18 is proved by the following extract from Guzman's letter to Philip on that date:

> The displeasure of the Queen of Scotland with her husband is carried so far, that she was approached by some who wanted to induce her to allow a plot to be formed against him, which she refused, but she nevertheless shows him no affection. They tell me even that she has tried to take away some of his servitors, and for some time past finds him no money

[1] Hosack's "Mary and her Accusers," Vol. I., p. 531.
[2] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth Vol. VIII., pp 163-4.

for his ordinary expenditure. This is very unfortunate for both of them, although it cannot be denied that the King has given grounds for it by what he has done. They ought to come to terms, as if they do not look out for themselves they are in a bad way.[1]

Mary wrote frankly enough about her husband, as well as about her father-in-law, to her Ambassador in Paris two days later:

MARY STUART TO ARCHBISHOP BEATON.

[Keith's "*Church and State in Scotland*," Vol. I.]

EDINBURGH, *January* 20, 1567.

. . . Lately a servant of yours, named William Walker, came to our presence, being for the time at Stirling, and in his communication among other things declared to us, how it was not only openly bruited, but also he had heard by report of persons whom he esteemed lovers of us, that the King, by the assistance of some of our nobility, should take the prince our son and crown him; and being crowned, as his father should take upon him the government; with sundry other attempts and purposes tending to this sign. At the hearing whereof, you may think well we marvelled not a little; and seeing the matter of such importance, could not but insist to have further knowledge of the speakers and authors, to the effect that we might better understand the ground and fountain whereof it proceeded. With the which he being pressed, named William Hiegait, in Glasgow, also your servant, for his chief author, who, he said, had communicated the matter to him, as appeared, of mind to gratify us; saying to Walker, "If I had the means and credit with the Queen's Majesty that you have, I would not omit to make her privy of such purposes and bruits that pass in the country." Hiegait said further, as Walker reported to us, that the King could not content and bear with some of the noblemen that were attending in our Court, but either he or they

[1] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., pp. 612-3.

Photo Franz Hanfstaengl.

LORD DARNLEY.

From a contemporary portrait in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire. Painter unknown.

behoved to leave the same. Whereupon we took occasion with diligence to send for Hiegait, who being inquired in our Council of his communication with Walker in this behalf, he denied as well apart, as being confronted together, that ever he talked with the said Walker upon any such purposes. Only this far he confessed, that he heard of a bruit how the King should be put in ward; and for his author in that point named a servant of the Earl of Eglinton's called Cauldwell; who being also sent for and examined, expressly denied that ever he spake or entered in such terms with William Hiegait. This purpose of the bruit of the King's warding was shown by Hiegait to the Laird of Minto, who again declared it to the Earl of Lennox, and by him the King was made participant thereof: by whose desire and commandment Hiegait again, as he alleged, spake Cauldwell. But in fine, among them all, we find no manner of concordance, every one disagreeing on the whole purposes spoken: which moved us to say to the two that we take for your servants, that we were assured they had in their proceeding and speaking, besides our offence, highly offended you their master, whom we were assured to be so far ours, and affectionately inclined to our service and advancement, that we would be very evil content of their rash behaviour, and repress and disallow such groundless purposes, tending to our unquietness and disadvantage, and troubling of the tranquillity of the country, which our study is to maintain and retain in such integrity as possibly may be.

And for the King our husband, God knows always our part towards him; and his behaviour and thankfulness to us is semblably well known to God and the world; specially our own indifferent subjects see it, and in their hearts, we doubt not, condemn the same. Always we perceive him occupied and busy enough to have inquisition of our doings, which, God willing, shall always be such as none shall have occasion to be offended with them, or to report of us any ways

but honourably; howsoever he, his father and their folk speak, which we know want no good will to make us have ado, if their power were equivalent to their minds. But God moderates their forces well enough, and takes the means of execution of their pretences from them: for, as we believe, they shall find none, or very few approve of their counsels and devices imagined to our displeasure or misliking. And thus commit you to the protection of God.

Your right good mistress and friend,

MARIE, R.

Before this letter could reach the Archbishop, he had himself written to Mary, warning her of some sinister design of which vague rumours had reached his ears. The warning followed a number of minor matters about which the faithful Beaton first wrote to her Majesty on this occasion:

ARCHBISHOP BEATON TO MARY STUART.

[Keith's "*Church and State in Scotland*," Vol. I.]

PARIS, *January* 27, 1567.

. . . For none of the heads precedent thought I to have dispatched expressly towards your Majesty, if by the Ambassador of Spain I had not been required thereto and specially to advertise you to take heed to yourself. I have heard some murmuring in likewise by others, that there be some surprise to be trafficked in your country, but he would not let me know of any particular; only assured me he had written to his master to know if by that way he can try any further, and that he was advertised and counselled to cause me haste towards you herewith. Further in this instance, and at his desire partly, I spoke earnestly to know of the Queen Mother, if she had heard any discourse or advertisement lately, tending to your hurt or disadvantage, but I can no speed, nor would she confess that she had gotten nor heard any such appearance, and that both the Comte de Brienne, and since the Ambassador la Forrest, have assured me that your affairs were at a very good point. In like

manner that Robert Stuart had shown her that he had forgiven my Lords of Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay; so she thought there was nothing to be feared, and approved greatly the right and pity you had of your own, and appeared to be very content that you had so graciously treated them, which she esteemed the right way to hold you at ease, and saw nothing that might stop it, but if it was the variance between you and the King, which she desired God to appease among the rest of your troubles; for it would be a great mean to compass more easily all your designs and enterprises, and in special it would occasion that Madame of Lennox, whom she knew well favoured by a great part of the nobility of England, would concur with you, etc. . . . Finally, I would beseech your Majesty right humbly to cause the Captains of your Guard be diligent in their office; for, notwithstanding that I have no particular occasion whereon I desire it, yet can I not be out of fear while I hear of your news. I desire with all my heart, if it shall be your pleasure, it may be with the same bearer [Robert Drury]. And so I pray the eternal Lord God to preserve your Majesty from all dangers, with long life and good health.

With the readiest will to believe the best of Mary Stuart it is difficult, if not impossible, to explain away some of the inconsistencies of her conduct at this critical period. Having written her letter to the Archbishop, in which she unburdened her soul of her animosity towards her husband, she set out from Edinburgh and became reconciled to him. Whether she actually started on the very day on which the letter was written is a controverted point, but both Andrew Lang and Martin Hume arrive at the conclusion, from separate premises, that it must have been the self-same day. Nau states that Darnley had sent several times to her, but that she was very ill, having been injured by a fall from her horse at Seton. Yet she was able to remove the infant prince from Stirling to Edinburgh on January 13-14. It was only after her arrival at Edinburgh, according to the Lennox MSS., that she wrote to Darnley "offering to visit him in his sickness." Darnley is reported on the same questionable

authority to have returned a verbal message to the effect that she must please herself. "But this much ye shall declare unto her, that I wish Stirling to be Jedburgh, and Glasgow to be the Hermitage, and I the Earl of Bothwell as I lie here, and then I doubt not she would be quickly with me undesired."[1] If such a message ever reached Mary she could only have visited him then with revenge in her heart. Bothwell and his brother-in-law, the Earl of Huntly, accompanied the Queen as she set out from Edinburgh, according to the document sometimes known as "Murray's Journal," sometimes as "Cecil's Journal."[2] They stayed the night at Callendar, near Falkirk, the residence of Lord Livingstone, and on the following day, while Mary continued her journey, the two Earls returned to Edinburgh.

It is supposed to have been about the eve of her departure that Mary received the secret visit from Morton's kinsman and "jackal," as Andrew Lang calls the treacherous Archibald Douglas, who had acted as the emissary between Morton, Bothwell and Lethington in the Darnley murder. Since his return, Morton had been staying with Archibald's brother, William Douglas of Whittingham, and the dark object of Archibald's mission is revealed in his letter to Mary, reminding her of this incident, and sent during her imprisonment in England. The letter was written from exile in answer to a promise of her favour if he could prove himself—to quote his own words—"innocent of the heinous facts committed in the person of your husband." He referred to his return from his earlier exile after the Riccio murder in order that he might deal with the Earls Murray, Atholl, Bothwell, and Argyll, as well as Secretary Lethington, on behalf of Morton and his brother fugitives:

At my coming to them, after I had opened the effect of my message, they declared that the marriage betwixt you and your husband had been the occasion already of great evil in that realm, and if your husband should be suffered to follow the appetite and mind of such as were about him, that kind of dealing might produce with time worse effects. For helping of such

[1] Lang's "Mystery of Mary Stuart," pp. 112-3.
[2] Anderson's "Collections," Vol. II., pp. 269-77.

inconvenience that might fall out by that kind of dealing, they had thought it convenient to join themselves in league and band with some other noblemen, resolved to obey your Majesty as their natural Sovereign, and have nothing to do with your husband's command whatsoever; if the said Earl Morton would for himself enter into that band and confederacy with them, they could be content to humbly request and travail by all means with your Majesty for his pardon; but before they could any further proceed, they desired to know the said Earl's mind herein. When I had answered, that neither he nor his friends, at my departure, could know that any such like matter would be proposed, and therefore was not instructed what to answer therein, they decided that I should return sufficiently instructed in this matter to Stirling, before the baptism of your son, whom God might preserve. This message was faithfully delivered by me at Newcastle, in England, where the said Earl then remained, in presence of his friends and company, where they all condescended to have no further dealing with your husband, and to enter into the said band. With this deliberation I returned to Stirling, where at the request of the most Christian King and Queen's Majesty of England, by their Ambassador's present, your Majesty's gracious pardon was granted unto them all, under condition always that they should remain banished forth of the realm, the space of two years, and further during your Majesty's pleasure, which limitation was after mitigated at the humble request of your own nobility, so that immediately after the said Earl of Morton repaired into Scotland to Whittingham, where the Earl Bothwell and Secretary Lethington came to him. What speech passed there among them, as God shall be my judge, I knew nothing at that time, but at their departure I was requested by the said Earl Morton to accompany the Earl Bothwell and Secretary to Edinburgh, and to return with such answer as they should obtain of your Majesty, which

being given to me by the said persons, as God shall be my judge, was no other than these words: "Show to the Earl Morton that the Queen will hear no speech of that matter appointed unto him." When I craved that the answer might be made more sensible, Secretary Lethington said that the Earl would sufficiently understand it, albeit few or none at that time understood what passed among them. It is known to all men, as well by railing letters passed betwixt the said Earl and Lethington, when they became in divers factions, as also a book set forth by the Ministers, wherein they affirm that the Earl of Morton has confessed to them, before his death, that the Earl Bothwell came to Whittingham to propose the calling away of the King your husband, to the which proposition the said Earl of Morton affirms that he could give no answer until such time as he might know your Majesty's mind therein, which he never received.

In view of all this circumstantial evidence it is well nigh impossible to believe either that Mary was entirely ignorant of the desperate nature of the plot against Darnley when she set out to visit him at Glasgow; or innocent of all desire to further its end when, quieting his fears, she removed him from the safety of his father's house, and left him defenceless practically in the hands of his enemies. As she neared Glasgow the Queen was met by Crawford, one of Lennox's retainers, with a message of excuse from his master for not attending her himself. She was not to think the Earl remained behind for "prowdness," or not knowing his duty, Crawford told her—to quote from his familiar deposition after the tragedy—but for want of health, and not presuming to enter her presence until he knew her mind towards him, after certain sharp words which she had spoken of him to his servant Robert Cunningham at Stirling. "There is no receipt against fear," replied the Queen, "and he would not be afraid unless culpable." Crawford answered that his Lordship would that the secrets of every creature's heart were written on their face. Thereupon "she asked if I had further commission. I said 'No,' and she commanded me to

hold my peace." The actual text shows better than all the arguments the remarkable similarity between this account and certain portions of the longest of the Casket Letters—the crucial "Letter II."—which also corroborates Crawford's ensuing account of the conversation between Darnley and Mary before their departure from Glasgow:[1]

The words that I remember betwixt the King and Queen in Glasgow when she took him away to Edinburgh:

His father being absent and sick, the King called me and gave me these words that had passed betwixt him and the Queen, to report to his father.

When they met, she asked him of his letters, complaining of the cruelty of some. He said not without cause, as she would grant when well advised. He said in reply to her, she was the cause of his sickness, and "you asked me what I meant by the cruelty specified in my letters. It proceedeth of you only that will not accept my offers and repentance. I confess that I have failed in some things, and yet greater faults have been made to you sundry times, which you have forgiven. I am but young, and you will say you have forgiven me divers times. May not a man of my age for lack of counsel, of which I am very destitute, fail twice or thrice, and yet repent and be chastised by experience? If I have made any fail, that you but think a fail, howsoever it be, I crave your pardon and protest that I shall never fail again. I desire no other thing but that we may be together as husband and wife. And if you will not consent hereto, I desire never to rise forth of this bed. Therefore I pray you give me an answer hereunto. God knoweth how I am punished for making my God of you, and for having no other thought but on you. And if at any time I offend you, you are the cause, for that when any offendeth me, if for my refuge I might open my mind to you, I would speak to no other, but when anything is spoken to me, and you

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., pp. 313-4.

and I not being as husband and wife ought to be, necessity compelleth me to keep it in my breast, and bringeth me in such melancholy as you see me in." She answered, that it seemed him, she was sorry for his sickness, and would find remedy as soon as she might: and asked him why he would have gone in the English ship? He said he did not mean it—but if he had, there was cause, seeing his usage—he had nothing to sustain himself or his servants, as she knew as well as he.

She asked of the purpose of Hiegait? He answered that it was told him.

She inquired how and by whom? He answered that the Laird of Minto told him that a letter was presented to her in Craigmillar, made by her own device, and subscribed by certain others, who desired her to subscribe the same, which she refused to do. He said he would never think that she who was his own proper flesh would do him hurt, and if any other would, they should buy it dear, unless they took him sleeping, though he suspected none. So he desired her to bear him company, for she ever found some ado to draw herself from him to her own lodging, and would never abide with him past two hours at once.

She was very pensive, and he found fault; and said he heard she had brought a litter with her. She said it was brought to carry him more softly than on horseback. He said a sick man should not so travel, in so cold weather. She answered she would take him to Craigmillar, to be with him, and not far from her son.

He said he would go, if they might be at bed and board as husband and wife, and she to leave him no more: and if she promised this on her word, he would go where she pleased—without this, he would not go. She said if she had not been so minded, she would not have come so far, and gave him her hand and faith of her body, that she would love and use him as her husband. But before they could come together,

he must be purged and cleansed of his sickness . . . . for she minded to give him the bath at Craigmillar. In answer to her question, he said he hated no man, and loved all alike. She asked how he liked Lady Reres, and if he was angry with her? He said he had little mind of such as she, and wished of God she might serve her to her honour.

Then she desired him to keep to himself the promise betwixt him and her: lest the Lords thought not well of their sudden agreement, considering he and they were at some words before. He said he knew no cause why they should mislike it, and desired her not to move any against him, as he would stir none against her, and that they would work in one mind, or it would turn to inconvenience to both. She answered, she never sought any way past him, he was in fault himself. He said his faults were published: but there were [those] that made greater faults than ever he made, that he believed were unknown.

He then asked me what I thought of his voyage? I said I liked it not, for if she had desired his company, instead of to Craigmillar, she would have taken him to his own house in Edinburgh, rather than a gentleman's house two miles out of town—therefore my opinion was she took him more like a prisoner than her husband. He answered he thought little less himself: save the confidence he had in her promise only. Yet he would put himself in her hands, though she should cut his throat: and besought God to be judge unto them both.

Crawford's deposition brings us to the vital question of the Casket Letters, the most momentous of all epistolary problems in British history. Not even the Letters of Junius have exercised so many master minds, both at home and abroad, as these alleged letters of Mary Stuart to Bothwell, the genuineness of which, if proved, places her share in her husband's murder beyond doubt. How they were discovered and examined in the following June, a few days after Mary's

surrender at Carberry, may be read in the Earl of Morton's declaration, the discovery of which by Mr. Henderson, who first published it in his "Casket Letters," adds heavily to the weight of evidence against the forgery theory. Other discoveries of recent years—especially Guzman's account, in the Spanish Calendar, of a letter which, in spite of its occasional differences, most probably referred to the cardinal document in the Casket Collection; and the knowledge that the French Ambassador in London was in possession of copies of the letters written within a fortnight of the opening of the Casket—tend to weaken the position of the forgery theorists, without, however, settling anything conclusively. Mary's own repudiation of the letters would be more convincing had she not subsequently, and with greater emphasis, denied the authorship of her letters to Babington, of the authenticity of which there is no longer room for doubt.

The question of Mary's guilt does not rest on the Casket Letters alone. The world at large condemned her long before they were published. Their psychological peculiarities are not more inexplicable than were her subsequent relations with the assassin Bothwell; unless, indeed, we are to suppose that instead of the high-spirited Queen who had hitherto steered a perilous course of her own with wit and courage, we have now to deal with one who became a mere puppet in the hands of her husband's reputed murderer, and was forced into marrying him. When all is said and done, however, it remains easy enough to argue on either side, and the present intention is to allow each, as far as possible, to state its case for itself. More ink has been spilt in ineffectual and acrimonious argument over this question than over any other controversy in modern history. Absolute conviction is, in the nature of things, impossible. Especially is this the case when we come to consider the Casket Letters. Even Mr. Henderson, who believes in the authenticity of the documents, and with well-nigh irresistible logic, piles up clause upon clause in support of that belief, is bound to admit that "if antecedent probabilities are rather in favour of the genuineness of the letters, there is nevertheless a considerable amount of presumptive evidence in favour of the conclusion that

they are forgeries."[1] The casket, with the letters, it will be remembered, was lost sight of after the execution in 1584 of the Earl of Gowrie, who is known to have succeeded Morton as custodian of the collection. Whatever their fate, Mr. Henderson has proved conclusively that they must have been written in French, a language with which Bothwell, of course, was perfectly familiar. Mary, at this period, could write Scots only with difficulty. The French and Latin texts afterwards printed were probably derived from the Scots translation, which is the only complete version extant.

Transcending all the others, both in length and importance, is the famous "Letter II.," round which the battle of disputants has ever raged most fiercely. Though placed second among the Casket Letters produced by Mary's accusers at the Westminster Inquiry in 1568, and usually printed as such, it was more probably the first in order of composition, and begun on the night of her arrival in Glasgow. This date, notwithstanding the chronology of "Cecil's Journal," and the testimony of the Privy Seal Register, is placed by most modern authorities, including Andrew Lang, Martin Hume, and Mr. Henderson, as either January 21 or 22. Assuming, as Andrew Lang does, that Mary arrived on the earlier date, it was possible for her to begin this long, rambling letter the same night, after interviewing her husband, finish it in the late hours of the following night, and send it by her French attendant, nicknamed "Paris" (Nicholas Hubert), who had just entered her service, on the 23rd. Paris, in his confessions of 1569, acknowledged that he had conveyed letters to Bothwell from Mary at this period, but his depositions, besides being made after the Westminster Conference, are too insufficiently attested to be of any real value. The following text of the so-called "Letter II." is from the English version preserved in the Record Office,[2] and annotated in order that the general reader may see at a glance where it differs in certain essentials from the Scots, French, and Latin versions, and also how difficult it is to decide whether it is genuine or not:

[1] "The Casket Letters and Mary Queen of Scots," p. 11.

[2] Bound up with the collection of State Papers relating to Mary, Queen of Scots (Vol. II., No. 65).

"LETTER II."

[Record Office MSS.]

Being gone from the place where I had left my heart, it may be easily judged what my countenance was, considering what the body may without heart, which was cause that till dinner I had used little talk, neither would anybody venture himself thereunto, thinking that it was not good so to do. Four miles from hence a gentleman of the Earl of Lennox came and made his commendations and excuses unto me, that he came not to meet me, because he durst not enterprise so to do, considering the sharp words that I had spoken to Cunningham, and that he desired that I would come to the inquisition of the fact which I did suspect him of. This last was of his own head, without commission; and I told him that he had no receipt against fear, and that he had no fear if he did not feel himself faulty; and that I had also sharply answered to the doubts that he made in his letters, as though there had been a meaning to pursue him. To be short, I have made him hold his peace; for the rest it were too long to tell you.

Sir James Hamilton came to meet me, who told me that at another time he [Lennox] went his way when he heard of my coming, and that he sent unto him Houston, to tell him that he would not have thought that he would have followed and accompany himself with the Hamiltons. He answered that he was not come but to see me, and that he would not follow Stuart nor Hamilton but by my commandment. He prayed him to go speak to him; he refused it. The Lord Luss, Houston, and the son of Caldwell, and about forty horse, came to meet me, and he told that he was sent to one day of law from the father, which should be this day, against the signing of his own hand, which he hath, and that, knowing of my coming, he hath delayed it, and hath prayed him to go see him, which he hath refused, and sweareth that he will suffer nothing at his hands. Not one of the

town is come to speak with me, which maketh me to think that they be his, and they so speaketh well of them, at least his son. The King sent for Joachim,[1] and asked him why I did not lodge nigh to him, and that he would rise sooner, and why I came, whether it were for any good appointment that he[2] came, and whether I had not taken Paris and Gilbert to write, and that I sent Joseph. I wonder who hath told him so much, even of the marriage of Bastien. This bearer shall tell you more upon what I asked him of his letters, and where he did complain of the cruelty of some of them. He said that he did dream, and that he was so glad to see me that he thought he should die [for gladness].[3] Indeed, that he has found fault with me . . . . [that I was pensive].[4] I went my way to supper. This bearer shall tell you of my arriving. [Darnley][5] prayed me to come again, which I did, and he told me his grief, and that he would make no testament, but leave all unto me, and that I was cause of his sickness, for the sorrow he had that I was so strange unto him. "And (said he) you asked me what I meant in my letter to speak of cruelty; it was of your cruelty, who will not accept my offers and repentance. I avow that I have done amiss, but not that I have always disavowed;[6] and so have many other of your subjects done, and you have well pardoned them. I am young. You will say that you have also pardoned me many times, and that I returned to my fault. May not a man of my age for want of counsel fail twice or thrice, and miss of promise, and at the last repent and rebuke himself

[1] In the Scots version, "sent for Joachim yesternight"; in the French, "*le roy appella hier Joachim;*" in the Latin, "*rex accersivit Joachimum heri.*"

[2] Mistranslated for "I."

[3] "For glaidness" appears in the Scots, and is also literally rendered in the French and Latin versions.

[4] "That I was pensive" follows in the Scots version, as in those of the French and Latin. The translator of the English version evidently failed to grasp the meaning of the words, leaving four dots to indicate the omission.

[5] The page is torn here, but obviously Darnley is intended.

[6] "Bot not into that quhilk I ever denyit" in the Scots.

by his experience? If I may obtain this pardon, I protest I will never make fault again; and I ask nothing but that we may be at bed and table together as husband and wife; and if you will not, I will never rise from this bed. I pray you tell me of your resolution hereof. God knoweth that I am punished to have made my God of you, and had no other mind but of you; and when I offend you sometimes, you are cause thereof; for if I thought when anybody doth any wrong to me, that I might for my refuge make my moan thereof unto you, I would open it to no other. But when I hear anything, being not familiar with you, I must keep it in my mind, and that troubleth my wits for anger."[1]

I did still answer him, but that shall be too long. In the end I asked him why he would go in the English ship. He doth disavow it, and sweareth so, but confesseth to have spoken to the men. Afterwards I asked him of the inquisition of Hiegait. He denied it till I told him the very words, and then he said that Minto sent him word that it was said that some of the Council had brought me a letter to sign, to put him in prison, and to kill him if he did resist, and that he asked this of Minto himself, who said unto him that he thought it was true. I will talk with him to-morrow upon that point. The rest as Will Hiegait hath confessed; but it was the next day that he came hither.[2]

In the end, he desired much that I should lodge in his lodging. I have refused it. I have told him that he must be purged, and that could not be done here. He said unto me, "I have heard say that you brought the litter, but I would rather have gone with yourself." I told him that so I would myself bring him to Craigmillar, that the physicians and I also might cure him

[1] This passage in particular coincides very closely with Crawford's deposition.

[2] Mary's letter to Archbishop Beaton, on pp. 154—6, throws some light on this perplexing matter. Apparently William Hiegait the Town Clerk of Glasgow, had stated that Darnley was planning to kidnap the infant prince, crown him, and rule in his name.

without being far from my son. He said that he was ready when I would, so as I would assure him of his request. He hath no desire to be seen; and waxeth angry when I speak to him of Walker,[1] and saith that he will pluck his ears from his head, and that he lieth; for I asked him before of that, and what cause he had to complain of [some of][2] the Lords, and to threaten them. He denyeth it, and saith that he had already prayed them to think no such matter of him.

As for myself, he would rather lose his life than do me the least displeasure; and then used so many kinds of flatteries, so coldly and so wisely, as you would marvel at. I had forgotten that he said that he could not mistrust me for Hiegait's word, for he could not believe that his own flesh (which was myself) would do him any hurt (and indeed it was said that I refused to have him let blood).[3] But for the others he would at least sell his life dear enough; but that he did suspect nobody, nor would, but love all that I did love. He would not let me go, but would have me to watch with him. I made as though I thought all to be true, and I would think upon it, and have excused myself from sitting up with him this night, for he saith that he sleepeth not. You never heard him speak better, nor more humbly. And if I had not proof of his heart to be as wax, and that mine were not as a diamond, no stroke but coming from your hand would make me but to have pity of him. But fear not, for the place shall continue till death. Remember also, in recompense thereof, not to suffer yours to be won by that false race that would do no less to yourself. I think they have been at school together. He hath always the tear in the eye. He saluteth every man, even to the meanest, and maketh much of them, that they may

[1] Walker was Archbishop Beaton's retainer, through whom the story circulated by Hiegait had first reached Mary's ears.

[2] Page torn here.

[3] This appears in the Scots, "to subscrive the same;" in the French, "*souscrire à cela;*" in Latin, "*ei rei subscribere.*" Evidently the English translator mistook "*signer*" for "*saigner.*"

take pity of him. His father hath bled this day at the nose and at the mouth. Guess what token that is. I have not seen him; he is in his chamber. The King is so desirous that I should give him meat with my own hands, but trust you no more there where you are than I do here. This is my first journey.[1] I will end to-morrow.

I write all, how little consequence soever it be of, to the end that you may take of the whole that that shall be best for you to judge.[2]

I do here a work that I hate much, *but I had begun it this morning;*[3] had you not list to laugh, to see me so trimly make a lie, at the least, dissemble, and to mingle truth therewith? He hath almost told me all on the Bishop's behalf, and of Sunderland,[4] without touching any word unto him of that which you had told me; but only by much flattering him and praying him to assure himself of me, and by my complaining of the [Bishop, I have taken] the worms out of his nose.[5] You have heard the rest. We are tied to with two false races. The good yeere untie us from them.[6] God forgive me, and God knit us together for ever for the most faithful couple that ever He did knit together. This is my faith; I will die in it. Excuse it if I write ill; you must guess the one-half. I cannot do with all, for I am ill at ease, and glad to write unto you when other folks be asleep, seeing that I cannot do as they do, according to my desire, that

[1] Apparently a misreading of the French "*journée*," here meaning "day" or "day's work."

[2] "For your purpose" is written in the margin as an alternative rendering.

[3] The words in italics only occur in the English version.

[4] "Sutherland" in the French and Latin versions. "Sudderland" in the Scots.

[5] Obviously, the French phrase, "*tirer les vers du nez*," literally translated. Mary Stuart uses the same phrase in the undisputed letter to the Bishop of Ross, written from Bolton on October 5, 1568, and printed in Labanoff, Vol. II., p. 213. In the Scots version it is rendered, "I have drawn it all out of him." The words in brackets have been added from the Scots version, being absent from the torn page of the English translation.

[6] Rendered in Scots as "the devil sinder us." Mr. Henderson suggests that in both instances the original French has been misread.

is between your arms, my dear life, whom I beseech God to preserve from all ill, and send you good rest, as I go to seek mine, till to-morrow in the morning that will end my bible.[1] But it grieveth me that it should let [hinder] me from writing unto you of news of myself, so much I have to write.

Send me word what you have determined hereupon, that we may know the one the other's mind for marring of anything.

I am weary, and am asleep[2] and yet I cannot forbear scribbling as long as there is any paper. Cursed be this pocky fellow that troubleth me thus much, for I had a pleasanter matter to discourse unto you but for him. He is not much the worse, but he is ill arrayed.[3] I thought I should have been killed with his breath, for it is worse than your uncle's breath; and yet I was set no nearer to him than in a chair by his bolster[4] and he lieth at the further side of the bed.

The message of the father by the way.

The talk of Sir James [Hamilton] of the Ambassador.

That the Lord of Luss hath told me of the delay.

The questions that he asked of Joachim, of my state, of my company, and of the cause of my coming, and of Joseph.

The talk that he and I have had, and of his desire to please me, of his repentance, and of the interpretation of his letter. Of Will Hiegait's doing, and of his departure, and of the Lord of Livingstone.[5]

[1] Probably a misreading, both here and in the Scots, of the French word "*billet*."

[2] "Ganging to sleep" in the Scots.

[3] "Ill arrayed" is another obvious inaccuracy. The Scots version has it: "he has received very mickle"—doubtless meaning the marks from the small-pox, from which he was recovering—and this is clearly followed in the French and Latin.

[4] This is given in the Scots, "at the bed feit;" in the French, "*à ses pieds;*" in the Latin, "*ad pedes ejus.*"

[5] The above memoranda are supposed to bring the first part of the letter to a close, and to represent that which is "scribbled," for which there is an apology at the end of the second half of the letter: "For I had yesterday no paper when I took the paper of a memorial;" or, in the Scots version, "quhen I wrait that of ye memoriall."

I had forgotten of the Lord of Livingstone, that at supper he said softly to the Lady Reres, that he drank to the persons I knew, if I would pledge them. And after supper he said softly [to me, when] [1] I was leaning upon him and warming myself [at the fire]. [2] "You may well go and see sick folks, yet can you not be so welcome unto them as you have this day left somebody in pain, who shall never be merry till he hath seen you again." I asked him who it was; he took me about the body, and said, "One of his folks that hath left you this day." Guess you the rest.

This day I have wrought till two of the clock upon this bracelet, to put the key in the cleft of it, which is tied with two laces. I have had so little time that it is very ill, but I will make a fairer; and in the meantime take heed that none of those that be here do see it, for all the world would know it, for I have made it in haste in their presence. I go to my tedious talk. You make me dissemble so much that I am afraid thereof with horror, and you make me to almost play the part of a traitor. Remember that if it were not for obeying you, I had rather be dead. My heart bleedeth for it. To be short, he will not come but with condition that I shall promise to be with him as heretofore at bed and board, and that I shall forsake him no more, and upon my word he will do whatsoever I will, and will come, but he hath prayed me to tarry till after to-morrow. He hath spoken at the first more stoutly, as this bearer shall tell you upon the matter of the Englishmen and of his departure; but in the end he cometh to his gentleness again. He hath told me, among other talk, that he knew well that my brother hath told me at Stirling that which he had said there, whereof he denied the half, and specially that he was in his chamber. But now, to make him trust me, I must feign something unto him; and therefore, when he desired me to promise that when he should be well we should make but one bed,

[1] Torn from English translation.
[2] The words "at the fire" appear in the Scots version.

I told him (feigning to believe his fair promises), [that if he][1] did not change his mind between this time and that, I was contented, so as he would say nothing thereof; for (to tell it between us two) the Lords wished no ill to him, but did fear lest, considering the threatenings which he made in case we did agree together, he would make them feel the small account they have made of him, and that he would persuade me to pursue some of them, and for this respect should be in jealousy if at one instant,[2] without their knowledge, I did break a game made to the contrary in their presence. And he said unto me, very pleasant and merry, "Think you that they do the more esteem you therefore? But I am glad that you talked to me of the Lords. I hope that you desire now that we shall live a happy life, for if it were otherwise, it could not be but greater inconvenience should happen to us both than you think. But I will do now whatsoever you will have me do, and will love all those that you shall love, so as you make them to love me also. For, so as they seek not my life, I love them all equally."

Thereupon I have willed this bearer to tell you many pretty things; for I have too much to write, and it is late, and I trust him upon your word. To be short, he will go anywhere upon my word. Alas! and I never deceived anybody; but I remit myself wholly to your will. And send me word what I shall do, and whatsoever happen to me, I will obey you. Think also if you will not find some invention more secret by physic, for he is to take physic at Craigmillar, and the baths also, and shall not come forth of long time. To be short, for that that I can learn, he hath great suspicion, and yet, nevertheless, trusteth upon my word, but not to tell me as yet anything: howbeit, if you will that I shall *avow* him, I will know all of him; but I shall never be willing to beguile one who putteth his trust in me. Neverthe-

[1] Torn from English translation.
[2] "By-and-by" is written as an alternative rendering to this version.

less, you may do all, and do not esteem me the less therefore, for you are the cause thereof; for, for my own revenge, I would not do it.

He giveth me certain charges (and these strong) of that that I fear, even to say, that his faults be published; but there be that commit some secret faults, and fear not to have them spoken of so loudly, and that there is speech of great and small; and even touching the Lady Reres, he said, "God grant that she serve you to your honour." And that men may not think, nor he neither, that my own power was not in myself, seeing I did refuse his offers. To conclude, for a surety, he mistrusteth us of that that you know, and for his life. But in the end, after I had spoken two or three good words to him, he was very merry and glad. I have not seen him this night for ending your bracelet, but I can find no clasps for it. It is ready thereunto, and yet I fear lest it should bring you ill hap, or that it should be known if you were hurt. Send me word whether you will have it, and more money, and when I shall return, and how far I may speak. Now, so far as I perceive, (*J'ay bien la vogue avec vous.*)[1] *I may do much with you.* Guess you whether I shall not be suspected. As for the rest, he is wood [mad] when he hears of Lethington, and of you, and my brother. Of your brother he sayeth nothing, but of the Earl of Argyll he doth.

I am afraid of him to hear him talk; at the least he assureth himself that he hath no ill opinion of him. He speaketh nothing of those abroad, neither good nor ill, but avoideth speaking of them. His father keeping his chamber; I have not seen him. All the Hamiltons be here, who accompany me very honestly. All the friends of the others do come always when I go to visit him. He hath sent to me, and prayeth

[1] The French rendering has been written in the margin by Cecil. The English version is a mistranslation, but evidently, as Mr. Henderson has pointed out, the phrase puzzled the Scottish translator even more, for the whole sentence is omitted in the Scots version.

me to see him rise to-morrow in the morning early. To be short, this bearer shall disclose unto you the rest; and if I learn anything, I will make every night a memorial thereof. He shall tell you the cause of my stay. Burn this letter, for it is too dangerous; neither is there anything well said in it, for I think upon nothing but upon grief[1] if you be at Edinburgh.

Now if to please you my dear life, I spare neither honour, conscience, nor hazard, nor greatness, take it in good part, and not according to the interpretation of your false brother-in-law, to whom, I pray you, give no credit against the most faithful lover that ever you had, or shall have.

See not also her whose feigned tears you ought not more to regard than the true travails which I endure to deserve her place, for obtaining of which, against my own nature, I do betray those that could let[prevent] me. God forgive me and give you, my only friend, the good luck and prosperity that your humble and faithful lover doth wish unto you, who hopeth shortly to be another thing unto you, for the reward of my pains. I have not made one word, and it is very late, although I should never be weary in writing to you, yet will I end, after kissing of your hands. Excuse my evil writing, and read it over twice. Excuse also that [I scribbled],[2] for I had yesternight no paper, when I took the paper of a memorial. [Pray] remember your friend, and write unto her, and often. Love me alw[ays as I shall love you].[3]

The English copy of the letter in the Record Office ends here. To the Scots version is attached the following directions for the bearer: "Remember you of the purpose of Lady Reres.

Of the Englishmen.

Of his mother.

[1] "Fascherie" in the Scots, meaning trouble. This is followed both in the French and the Latin.

[2] "Excuse that thing that is scriblet," according to the Scots version.

[3] The words in brackets are torn from English translation.

Of the Earl of Argyll.
Of the Earl of Bothwell.
Of the lodging in Edinburgh."

These are copied literally both into the French and Latin versions.

For the sake of comparison it is interesting to follow the foregoing text with the Spanish Ambassador's account of the letter described to him by Murray at the end of the following July. This incident occurred when Mary's half-brother passed through London on his return from the Continent—where, ostensibly, he had been sight-seeing since the murder of Darnley—to Scotland, whence he had been summoned by the news of Bothwell's downfall and Mary's imprisonment in Lochleven. Guzman made a point of seeing him "to try to discover something of his intention." Among other things the Ambassador, as he afterwards told Philip, mentioned to Murray that Mary's confessor had told him that "as regarded the King's murder, she had no knowledge whatever of it, and was greatly grieved thereat. . . . ":

I expressed great attachment to him, and told him to take great care of himself, and be cautious, as he no doubt had enemies ; and with this he opened out somewhat, saying that my good will towards him prompted him to tell something that he had not even told this Queen [Elizabeth], although she had given him many remote hints upon the subject. This was that he considered it very difficult to arrange matters, as it was certain that the Queen had been cognisant of the murder of her husband, and he, Murray, was greatly grieved thereat. This had been proved beyond doubt by a letter which the Queen had written to Bothwell, containing three sheets of paper, written with her own hand and signed by her, in which she says in substance that he is not to delay putting into execution that which he had arranged, because her husband used such fair words to deceive her and bring her round that she might be moved by them if the other thing were not done quickly. She said that she herself would go and fetch him, and

would stop at a house on the road where she would try to give him a draught, but if this could not be done she would put him in the house, where the explosion was arranged for the night upon which one of her servants was to be married. He, Bothwell, was to try to get rid of his wife either by putting her away or poisoning her, since he knew that she, the Queen, had risked all for him—her honour, her kingdom, her wealth and her God, contenting herself with his person alone. Besides this, she had done an extraordinary and unexampled thing on the night of the murder in giving her husband a ring, petting and fondling him after plotting his murder, and this had been the worst thing in connexion with it. Murray said he had heard about the letter from a man who had read it, and the rest was notorious.[1]

Guzman had heard of the accusing letters as early as July 12, when he informed his master that the French Ambassador in London, La Forrest, had assured him that Mary's "adversaries assert positively that they knew she had been concerned in the murder of her husband, which was proved by letters under her own hand, copies of which were in his possession."[2] Doubtless La Forrest had derived his information from Du Croc, the French Ambassador in Scotland, who, as Guzman explained in the same letter, had just passed through London on his return to France, probably carrying other copies with him. This letter of July 12 is the earliest known reference to the Casket documents, and demolishes many old arguments against their authenticity on the ground of long delay in the first public mention of their existence, this being in an Act of Murray's Council dated December 4, 1567. Had there been any tampering with the letters it must have been before the copies passed into the possession of the French Ambassador; otherwise it is reasonable to assume that the differences would have been discovered and denounced when the documents were published in French, Latin, and Scots four years later. The weightiest arguments remaining on the side of the forgery theorists are that

[1] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 665.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 657.

Murray's account of the famous letter is so significantly inaccurate in parts that it indicates the concoction of a first rough draft, which was subsequently altered or re-written in the form produced at Westminster; and that Crawford's deposition, coinciding with certain passages in the letter too closely to be dismissed as mere coincidence, must have been interpolated by the forger, in order to give it the intimate facts which Mary herself could not deny.

The Murray argument is not very formidable, when we remember how easily facts may be garbled when passed from mouth to mouth. If that be sufficiently taken into account, its similarity, on the whole, is striking. The Crawford argument, on the other hand, is more forcible than any attempt that has yet been made to explain it away. Unless, as the prosecution not very convincingly suggests, Crawford's statement was not the original one, but based on Mary's own writing, it is easier to believe that this damning "Letter II." was, in part at least, a forgery, than that the Queen could have written the whole of it herself. It was necessary for Mary's enemies to prove her guilt up to the hilt, and not a few of them were capable of worse crimes than falsifying a letter. In that case, however, the forgery must have been done before the documents were "sichted"—that is, examined critically, on the morning of June 21, 1567. The full significance of this "sichting" has only been revealed in recent years by the publication in Mr. Henderson's "Casket Letters and Mary Queen of Scots" of the full text of this famous document, maintaining, in Morton's words, that the examination took place in the presence of Atholl, the leader of the Scottish Catholics, and afterwards Morton's bitter enemy, as well as in the presence of Sempill, another Catholic, Lethington, Hume, and others. Not all of these would have lent themselves to such a palpable fraud if Crawford's deposition, for instance, had been introduced after they had "sichted" the originals on June 21.

Andrew Lang, in his "Mystery of Mary Stuart," supports the theory that Lethington himself was responsible for the forgery, if he did not actually employ the pen. According to this view, Lethington must have had access to the letters between June 14, when he is known to have had an interview

lasting some hours with Sir James Balfour in Edinburgh Castle—held at that time by Balfour for the Queen and Bothwell—and the flight from the Castle of Bothwell's valet, George Dalgleish, with the casket, four days later, as described in Morton's declaration. All this, however, is mere guesswork, and leaves the whole problem wrapped in deeper mystery than ever. It is more profitable for our own purpose to turn to the so-called "Letter I.," which should more correctly be described as "Letter II." This is the note which, if we accept the Casket Letters as genuine, Mary must have sent off on Saturday, January 25, while feverishly awaiting a reply from Bothwell to the long letter dispatched by Paris. The text is again that of the English translation preserved in the Record Office, bound up with the State Papers relating to Mary Queen of Scots (Vol. II., No. 62):

"LETTER I."

[Record Office MSS.]

It seemeth that with your absence forgetfulness is joined, considering that at your departure you promised to send me news from you. Nevertheless I can learn none. And yet did I yesterday look for that that should make me merrier than I shall be. I think you do the like for your return, prolonging it more than you have promised. As for me, if I hear no other matter of you according to my commission, I bring the man [on] Monday to Craigmillar, where he shall be upon Wednesday. And I go to Edinburgh to be let blood, if I have no word to the contrary. He is the merriest that ever you saw, and doth remember unto me all that he can, to make me believe that he loveth me. To conclude, you would say that he maketh love to me, wherein I take so much pleasure that I never come in there but the pain of my side doth take me. I have it sore to-day. If Paris doth bring back unto me that for which I have sent it should much amend me. I pray you, send me word from you at large, and what I shall do if you be not returned when I shall be there. For if you be not wise, I see assuredly all the whole burden

falling upon my shoulders. Provide for all, and consider well first of all. I send this present to Lethington, to be delivered to you by Beaton, who goeth to one day of law of Lord Balfour. I will say no more unto you, but that I pray God send me good news of your voyage.

From Glasgow, this Saturday morning.

That is the last of the Casket Letters which Mary's accusers feel justified in dating from Glasgow before the murder. On the following Monday (January 27), Mary set out with her husband on the fateful journey to Edinburgh, reaching that night as far as Callendar. The reference to Craigmillar clearly suggests that if Kirk o' Field was being prepared for their reception by Bothwell she was not aware of the fact, although the "Book of Articles" states that "it appears well they had devised the fatal house for him before she rode to Glasgow." Craigmillar was evidently regarded by the letter-writer as by no means a final arrangement, though both Crawford and Nau agree that Mary's intention was to carry Darnley to Craigmillar. Nau, in his "History," declares that the King preferred to lodge "in a small house outside the town [Edinburgh], which he had chosen on the report of James Balfour and some others. This was against the Queen's wishes, who was anxious to take him to Craigmillar, for he could not stay in Holyrood Palace, lest he should give the infection to the prince."[1] Darnley's servant, Thomas Nelson, who accompanied him on the journey, also declared in his evidence that "it was devised at Glasgow that the King should have lain first at Craigmillar; but because he had no will thereof the purpose was altered, and conclusion taken that he should lie beside the Kirk o' Field."[2] The case for the accusers is stated by Buchanan, who probably wrote "The Book of Articles" as well as "The Detection," from which last-named work the following extract is taken:

Bothwell, as it was between them before accorded, produced all things ready that were needful to

[1] Nau's "History of Mary Stuart," p. 33.
[2] Lang's "History of Scotland," Vol. II., p. 292.

accomplish the heinous act: first of all a house, not commodious for a sick man, nor comely for a king, for it was both damp and ruinous, and had stood empty without any dwellers for divers years before, in a place of small resort, between the old fallen walls of two kirks, near a few alms-houses for poor beggars. And that no commodious means for committing that mischief might be wanting, there is a postern-door in the town wall hard by the house, whereby they might easily pass away into the fields. In choosing of the place, she would needs have it thought that they had respect to the wholesomeness. And to avoid suspicion that this was a fancied pretence, herself the two nights before the day of the murder, lay there in a low room under the King's chamber. And as she did curiously put off the shows of suspicion from herself, so the execution of the slaughter she was content to have committed to other.[1]

In the Lennox MSS., which Andrew Lang used for the first time in his "Mystery of Mary Stuart," is a copy of a letter which Darnley wrote to his father only three days before his death:

LORD DARNLEY TO THE EARL OF LENNOX.

[Andrew Lang: "*The Mystery of Mary Stuart.*"]

EDINBURGH *February* 7, 1567.

My Lord,

I have thought good to write to you by this bearer of my good health, I thank God, which is the sooner come through the good treatment of such as hath this good while concealed their good will; I mean of my love the Queen, which I assure you hath all this while, and yet doth, use herself like a natural and loving wife. I hope yet that God will lighten our hearts with joy that hath so long been afflicted with trouble. As I in this letter do write unto your Lordship, so I trust this bearer can satisfy you the

[1] Anderson's "Collections," p. 18.

like. Thus thanking Almighty God of our good hap, I commend your Lordship into His protection.

Your loving and obedient son,

HENRY, REX.

While Darnley was thus writing, if we are to trust these none too trustworthy Lennox MSS., Mary entered the room, and having read the letter, "kissed him as Judas did the Lord his Master." It was that very night, according to other of Mary's accusers, that she wrote the only Casket Letter containing any definite clue to the Kirk o' Field period. This is taken as evidence of Mary's alleged plot to dispose of her husband by the more seemly means of a fight with her half-brother, Lord Robert Stuart. Lord Robert, so this story runs, had warned Darnley of his danger, but denied having done so when Darnley betrayed his confidence to Mary. Thereupon Mary arranged with Bothwell to bring Lord Robert to Kirk o' Field, in order that Darnley might be confronted by Lord Robert, and, with good luck, killed by him in fair—or unfair—fight. That is the alleged meaning of the letter now modernised from the English translation at Hatfield. It is usually quoted as No. IV. of the Casket series, but is more correctly given as

"LETTER III."

[Hatfield Manuscripts, Historical MSS. Commission, Vol. I.]

I have watched later there above than I would have done, if it had not been to draw out that which this bearer shall tell you; that I find the fairest commodity to excuse your business that might be offered: I have promised him to bring him to-morrow. If you think it, give order thereunto. Now, Sir, I have *not yet* broken my promises with you, for you had not commanded me to send you anything or to write, and I do it not, for offending of you. And if you knew the fear that I am in thereof, you would not have so many contrary suspicions, which nevertheless I cherish as proceeding from the thing of this world that I desire and seek the most, that is your favour, *or good will*, of which my behaviour

shall assure me. And I will never despair thereof as long as according to your promise you shall discharge your heart to me. Otherwise I would think that my ill luck, and the fair behaviour of those that have not the third part of the faithfulness and voluntary obedience that I bear unto you, shall have won the advantage over me of the second lover of Jason. Not that I do compare you to so wicked, or myself to so unpitiful, a person. Although you make me feel some grief in a matter that toucheth you, and to preserve and keep you to her to whom alone you belong, if a body may claim to himself that which is won by ——[1] well, faithfully, yea entirely loving, as I do, and will do all my life for pain or hurt whatsoever may happen to me thereby. In recompense whereof, and of all the evils that you been cause of to me, remember the place hereby. I desire not that you keep promise with me to-morrow, but that we may be together, and that you give no credit to the suspicions that you shall have, without being assured thereof. And I ask no more of God but that you might know all that I have in my heart, which is yours, and that He preserve you from all evil, at the least during my life, which shall not be dear unto me, but as long as it and I shall please you. I go to bed, and give you good night. Send me word to-morrow early in the morning how you have done, for I shall think long. And watch well if the bird shall fly out of his cage or without his mate,[2] as the turtle shall remain alone to lament and mourn for absence, how short soever it be. That which I could not do my letter should do it with a good will, if it were not that I fear to wake you, for I durst not write before Joseph and Bastien and Joachim, who were but new gone from [when] I began.

"Cecil's Journal" bears an entry to the effect that on February 8 Mary confronted Lord Robert and Darnley

[1] Word illegible, struck out.

[2] The word in the original copy is "father." This is corrected in Cecil's hand to the word "make"—obviously itself a mistake for "mate."

"conforme to her letter written the night before," meaning, it is assumed, the letter we have just given. Buchanan's version of this ambiguous story is printed in the "Detection" as follows:

About three days before the King was slain, she practised to set her brother Lord Robert and him at deadly feud, making reckoning that it should be gain to her, whichsoever of them both had perished. For matter to ground their dissension, she made rehearsal of the speech that the King had had with her concerning her brother: and when they both so grew in talk as the one seemed to charge the other with the lie, at last they were in a manner come from words to blows. But while they were both laying their hands on their weapons, the Queen, feigning as though she had been perilously afraid of that which she earnestly desired, called the Earl of Murray, her other brother, to part them, to this intent, that she might either presently bring him in danger to be slain himself, or in time to come to bear the blame of such mischief as then might have happened.[1]

The alleged affray, like every questionable incident in the whole of this debatable drama, may be accepted or dismissed according to the prejudices of the readers. The evidence throughout is so conflicting that it is only possible to maintain even a semblance of impartiality by continuing to give the salient letters on both sides, with connecting links from other contemporary sources, and leaving readers to form their own conclusions. Let us continue with Buchanan's narrative of the tragedy itself:

When all things were ready prepared for performing this cruel fact, and with all occasions cut off to divert the blame thereof, the partners of the conspiracy, fearing lest long delay should either bring some impediment to their purpose, or disclose their counsels, determined to dispatch it in haste. The Queen, therefore, for manners' sake, after supper, goes up to

[1] Anderson's "Collections," Vol. II., pp. 18-19.

the King's lodging. There being determined to show him all the tokens of reconciled good will, she spent certain hours in his company, with countenance and talk much more familiar than she had used in six or seven months before. At the coming in of Paris, she broke off her talk, and prepared to depart. This Paris was a young man born in France, who had lived certain years in the houses of Bothwell and Seton, and afterwards with the Queen. Whereas the other keys of that lodging were in custody of the King's servants, Paris by feigning certain fond and slender causes, had in keeping the keys which Bothwell kept back, of the back gate and the postern. He was in special trust with Bothwell and the Queen, touching their secret affairs. His coming (as it was before agreed among them) was a watch-word that all was ready for the matter. As soon as the Queen saw him, she rose up immediately, and feigning another cause to depart, she said, "Alas! I have much offended toward Sebastian [Bastien] this day, that I come not in a mask at his marriage."

This Sebastian was an Avernois, a man in great favour with the Queen for his cunning in music, and his merry jesting, and was married the same day. The King thus left, in manner, alone, in a desolate place, the Queen departs, accompanied with the Earls of Argyll, Huntly, and Cassilis, that attended upon her. After she was come into her chamber, after midnight, she was in long talk with Bothwell, none being present but the Captain of her Guard. And when he also withdrew himself, Bothwell was there left alone, without other company, and shortly after retired into his own chamber. He changed his apparel, because he would be unknown of such as met him, and put on a loose cloak, such as the Swartrytters [German heavy cavalry] wear, and so set forward through the watch, to execute his intended traitrous fact. The whole order of the doing thereof may be easily understood by their confessions which were put to death for it.

Bothwell, after the deed was ended that he set for, returned, and as if he had been ignorant of all that was done, he gat him to bed. The Queen, in the meantime, in great expectation of the success, how finely she played her part (as she thought) it is marvellous to tell; for she not once stirred at the noise of the fall of the house, which shook the whole town, nor at the fearful outcries that followed, and confused cries of the people (for I think there happened her not any new thing unlooked for) till Bothwell, feigning himself afraid, rose again out of his bed, and came to her with the Earls of Argyll, Huntly, and Atholl, and with the wives of the Earls of Mar and Atholl, and with the Secretary. There, while the monstrous chance was in telling, while everyone wondered at the thing, that the King's lodging was even from the very foundation blown up in the air, and the King himself slain: in this amazedness and confused fear of all sorts of persons, only that same heroical heart of the Queen maintained itself so far from casting herself down into base lamentations and tears, unbeseeming the royal name, blood and estate, that she matched, or rather far surmounted all credit of the constancy of any in former times. This also proceeded of the same nobility of courage that she sent out the most part of them that were then about her, to inquire out the manner of the doing, and commanded the soldiers that watched, to follow, and she herself settled her to rest, with a countenance so quiet, and mind so untroubled, that she sweetly slept till the next day at noon. But lest she should appear void of all naturalness at the death of her husband, by little and little, at length she kept her close, and proclaimed a mourning not long to endure.

The first evidence of supreme importance on Mary's side is, of course, her own account of the tragedy, as related to her Ambassador in Paris in the letter which, though dated the 11th, was obviously written on the day of the murder

[1] Anderson's "Collections," pp. 21-4.

itself. The Queen had that very morning received from Beaton his own letter of warning against certain plots of which rumours had reached his ears (pp. 156–7). Drury, the Marshal of Berwick, understood that the messenger brought similar warnings from the Spanish Ambassador and the Cardinal of Lorraine as well, for in a letter to Cecil on the 14th he wrote: "The servant of the Bishop of Glasgow, the Ambassador in France, passed here on the 9th and brought letters and ciphers from his master, from the Ambassador of Spain, and from the Cardinal of Lorraine, to the Queen, to advise her to take heed whom she trusted with her secrets, and gave her warning that her husband would shortly be slain": [1]

MARY STUART TO ARCHBISHOP BEATON.

[Strickland's "*Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots.*"]

EDINBURGH, *February* 11 [10], 1567.

Most reverend father in God and trusted counsellor, we greet you well.

We have received this morning your letters of the 27th of January, by your servant Robert Drury, containing in one part such advertisement as we find by effect over true, albeit the success has not altogether been such as the authors of that mischievous fact had pre-conceived and had put it in execution; an' if God, in his mercy, had not preserved us, as we trust, to the end that we may take a rigorous vengence of that mischievous deed, which ere it should remain unpunished we had rather lose life and all. The matter is so horrible and strange, as we believe the like was never heard of in any country.

This night past, being the 9th of February, a little after two hours after midnight, the house wherein the King was lodged was, in one instant, blown into the air, he lying sleeping in his bed, with such a vehemency that of the whole lodging, walls and other, there is nothing remaining, no, not a stone above another, but all either carried far away or dashed in dross to the very ground stone. It must be done by the force

[1] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 176.

of powder, and appears to have been a mine. By whom it has been done, or in what manner, it appears not yet.

We doubt not but, according to the diligence our Council has begun already to use, the certainty of all shall be used shortly, and the same being discovered, which we *wot* God will never suffer to lie hid, we hope to punish the same with such rigour as shall serve for example of this cruelty to all ages to come. Always, whoever has taken this wicked enterprise in hand, we assure ourselves it was designed as well for ourself as the King, for we lay the most part of all the last week in that same lodging, (and was there accompanied with the most part of the Lords that are in this town,) and that same night, at midnight, and of very chance tarried not all night [there], by reason of some mask[1] at the Abbey [of Holyrood]; but we believe it was not chance but God that put it in our head.

We dispatched this bearer upon the sudden, and therefore write to you the more shortly. The rest of the letter we shall answer at more leisure within four or five days by your own servant. And so for the present we commit you to Almighty God.

At the same time Mary's Council wrote to the Queen Mother of France the letter now translated from the original French as published among the appendices to Laing's "History" in 1819:

THE SCOTTISH COUNCIL TO THE QUEEN MOTHER OF FRANCE.

[Laing's "*History of Scotland*," Vol. II.]

EDINBURGH, *February* 10, 1567.

Madame,

The strange event which occurred in this town last night constrains us to take the liberty of sending you word of the unhappy deed perpetrated on the

[1] At the festivities of the marriage of her servants, Bastien and Margery, which took place at her own palace of Holyrood and at her own expense. Bastien and Margery followed her faithfully in all her fortunes, and both served her in her captivity at Sheffield.—Strickland.

person of our King. About two hours after midnight his lodging, while he was in bed, was blown violently into the air—by gunpowder, so far as one can judge by the sound, and the terrible suddenness of the action. The explosion was so violent that not only the roof and ceilings, but even the walls down to the foundation were demolished, so that there is not left one stone upon another. The authors of this crime very nearly destroyed the Queen in the same way—with most of the Lords at present in her suite—who had been with the King in his chamber until nearly midnight. Her Majesty might easily have remained there all night, but God has been so gracious to us that these assassins have been despoiled of a part of their prey, and has reserved her Majesty to take the vengeance which such a barbarous and inhuman act deserves. We are making inquiries, and have no doubt that in a short time we shall succeed in discovering those who have perpetrated this deed. For God would never permit that a crime like this should remain hidden or unpunished. Having once discovered them your Majesty and every one shall see that the country of Scotland will not willingly endure a disgrace on her shoulders such as would be heavy enough to make her odious to the whole of Christendom, if these guilty persons remained hidden or unpunished. We did not wish to miss the opportunity of making this known to his Majesty the King and your Majesty by the bearer, the Seigneur de Clarnault, who will tell you in detail all the circumstances, with which he is well acquainted. His competency in this respect is such that we have entrusted the rest to him, so that a longer letter should not weary your Majesty, to whom we kiss hands and pray God, Madame, to have you in His holy keeping.

Those who signed this judicious narrative were the Archbishop of St. Andrews,[1] Atholl, Caithness, Argyll, Cassilis,

[1] Afterwards accused by Buchanan in his "History" of being the ringleader of the plot.

Sutherland, Huntly, Bothwell, the Bishop of Galloway (Protestant), the Bishop of Ross, Fleming, Bellenden, Livingstone, and Maitland. These letters may be rounded off by the report of the bearer of this epoch-making news, the Seigneur de Clarnault himself, dated February 16, and indorsed by Cecil's clerk:

REPORT OF M. DE CLARNAULT.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

February 16, 1566.

On Saturday the 9th, about 7 p.m., the Queen with the principal nobles at Court visited the King—stayed two or three hours, and then attended the marriage of one of her gentlemen, as she had promised; or it is thought she would have stayed till midnight or 1 a.m., seeing their good agreement for three weeks past. She retired soon from the wedding to go to bed. And about 2 a.m. a tremendous noise was heard, as of a volley of twenty-five or thirty cannon, arousing the whole town; and on her sending to know whence it came, they found the King's lodging totally destroyed, and himself sixty or eighty steps from the house in a garden, dead, also his *valet de chambre* and a young page. One may imagine the distress and agony of this poor Princess, such a misfortune chancing when her Majesty and the King were on such good terms. It is well seen this unhappy affair proceeded from an underground mine. As yet the author is unknown.

In Nau's account of the tragedy it is stated that as Mary was about to leave Darnley for the last time she met Paris, and noticing that his face was all blackened with gunpowder, exclaimed as she was mounting her horse, "Jesu, Paris, how begrimed you are!" At which, we are told, "he turned very red." The same account continues to the effect that the crime, "done by the command and device of the Earls of Bothwell and Morton, James Balfour and some others," was the result of a bond into which they had entered. "It was written by Alexander Hay, at that time one of the clerks of the Council, and signed by the Earls of Murray, Huntly,

Bothwell and Morton, by Lethington, James Balfour and others, who had combined for this purpose. They protested that they were acting for the public good of the realm, pretending that they were freeing the Queen from the bondage and misery into which she had been reduced by the King's behaviour. . . . . When the Queen was told what had occurred she was in great grief and kept her chamber all that day. . . . . Diligent inquiries were made about it on all sides, especially by those who were its authors, among others by the Earl of Murray. He had absented himself on the day of the murder, on the pretext that he was going to visit his wife, who, he said, was very dangerously ill. . . . Earl Bothwell was much suspected of this villainous and detestable murder, and the impression was strengthened by the many ill reports circulated about him. . . . . If we may judge by the plots, deeds, and contrivances of his associates, it would seem that after having used him to rid themselves of the King, they designed to make Bothwell their instrument to ruin the Queen, their true and lawful Sovereign. Their plan was this, to persuade her to marry the Earl of Bothwell, so that they might charge her with being in the plot against her late husband, and a consenting party to his death. This they did shortly after, appealing to the fact that she had married the murderer."[1]

In estimating the value of Nau's testimony it is always necessary to remember that he wrote these Memorials as one of Mary's most trusted secretaries, and probably, as Father Stevenson has said, under her own immediate supervision. It is beside our purpose to include the "examinations and confessions" of the handful of underlings who were afterwards arrested and hanged for aiding and abetting the crime—the Frenchman Paris, the Black Laird of Ormiston, Bothwell's porter, William Powrie, and other minions of the same desperado. They will be found in Anderson's "Collections," and elsewhere; but as Andrew Lang shows in his critical analysis in "The Mystery of Mary Stuart," little reliance can be placed on any of their stories. "What," asks Andrew Lang, "are the examinations of the murderers worth, after passing through the hands of the accomplices?"

[1] Nau's "History of Mary Stuart," pp. 34-6.

The difficulty of arriving at the truth is also displayed in the different accounts by three Ambassadors of the evidence of M. di Moretta, the Duke of Savoy's representative, who left Edinburgh on his return to the Continent a day and a half after Darnley's death. Seen in London by Guzman, he made certain statements "which point to the suspicion that the Queen knew of, or consented to the plot. When I asked him what he thought, or had been able to gather as to the Queen's share in it," adds the Spanish Ambassador, "he did not condemn her in words, but did not exonerate her at all. He thinks, however, that all will soon be known, and even gives signs that he knows more than he likes to say."[1] There is not a word of these suspicions in the account of the tragedy from the same source, as written on March 16 by the Papal Nuncio, the Bishop of Mondovi, towards the end of the following letter:

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA.

[Father Pollen's "*Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots.*"]

PARIS, *March* 16, 1567.

Yesterday Father Edmund arrived here in company with M. di Moretta, and from both one and the other we have been able to understand fully the state of the affairs of Scotland. At this moment they are in such confusion owing to the death of the King, that there is fear of a very extensive insurrection, for the Earls of Murray, Atholl, and Morton and other Lords have joined with the Earl of Lennox, the King's father, under pretext of avenging his death. The Earls of Bothwell, Huntly and many other men of importance are with the Queen for the same purpose. Both sides are suspicious of each other, and already the Earl of Murray, having been called by her Majesty, would not go.

Hence it is thought that he (as I wrote on the 12th instant), aiming at the succession to the throne, desires upon this occasion to murder the Earl of Bothwell, a courageous man, much trusted and con-

[1] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 621.

fided in by the Queen, with the intention of being afterwards able to lay snares for the life of her Majesty with greater ease, especially as he can hope through the slothfulness of the Earl of Lennox to obtain, by his permission and consent, the governorship of the Prince, and by consequence of the whole realm. If he should gain this (which may God avert) he may be able to accomplish the wicked end he has set before himself, and herein the favour of England will not be wanting. The English Queen is jealous of the Prince, as the legitimate heir of both those realms, and will not omit to favour the said Murray as her dependant, bound to her by many obligations as well as by religion. . . .

If the Queen had done that which was recommended and proposed to her from our side, with promise of all the aids necessary for that most just execution, she would find herself now really mistress of her kingdom, with authority to restore there the holy Catholic faith in its integrity. But she would never hear of it, notwithstanding that the Bishop of Dunblane and Father Edmund were sent expressly to persuade her to embrace that most holy enterprise. May God grant that an indulgence so unjust may not bring complete ruin on her Majesty and on her kingdom. . . .

As to the particulars of the death of the King, the said M. di Moretta is strongly of opinion that the poor Prince, hearing the noise of the people who surrounded the house, and tried to open the doors with false keys, wanted to go out by a gate that led to the garden in his shirt and pelisse to escape the danger. There he was stifled and then brought out of the garden into a little yard outside the town wall. Then with the fire they destroyed the house, in order to murder the others within.[1] This

[1] "The King had not laid one hour and half, being in sleep, till fifty persons in number environed that house, whereof sixteen of them, Bothwell being chief, came the secret way which she was wont herself to come to the King, her husband, and with their double keys opened all the doors of the garden and house, and so quietly entered his chamber; who finding him in bed, finally did suffocate him with a wet napkin steeped in vinegar. After which being done, bare the body into the

is conjectured, because the King was found dead in his shirt with his pelisse at his side, and certain women who lodged near the garden affirm that they heard the King cry, "O my brothers, have pity on me for the love of Him who had mercy on all the world." Father Edmund tells me that the King had heard Mass that morning according to his custom; that his mother always brought him up a Catholic, but that out of a desire of the Crown he sometimes dissembled the old religion. If so it is, may His Divine Majesty deign to have mercy on that poor soul!

The third version on M. di Moretta's authority was given to the Signory of Venice by the Venetian Ambassador in Paris:

GIOVANNI CORRER TO THE SIGNORY.

[*Venetian Calendar*, Vol. VII.]

M. di Moretta has returned from Scotland, whither he was sent by the Duke of Savoy to hold the Prince at the christening, and he was anxiously awaited by these Majesties in order to hear from him some particulars concerning the death of the husband of the Queen of Scotland, M. di Moretta having been in those parts when the King was assassinated.

M. di Moretta relates that the Queen was actually with her husband on that day until a late hour, and then departed to be present at the marriage feast of one of her ladies, the Queen having promised her husband that on the following night she would sleep with him, and in faith, and as security for this promise, she gave him a ring in pledge. Towards midnight the King heard a great disturbance, at least so certain women who live in the neighbourhood declare, and from a window they perceived many armed men round about the house; so he, suspecting what might befall him, let himself down from another window looking on the garden, but he had not proceeded far before he was surrounded by certain persons, who

garden, his nightgown of purple velvet furred with sables laid by him, and his servant William Taylor in like manner, who suffered death in like sort, whose souls the Lord receive into glory."—Lennox MS. at Cambridge, quoted by Father Pollen.

strangled him with the sleeves of his own shirt under the very window from which he had descended. One of his chamberlains followed him, and was heard to say, "The King is dead, oh, luckless night;" nor was the wretched man deceived, for he and the father of the King both lost their lives.[1]

Having done this the assassins destroyed that part of the house where the King was accustomed to sleep, intending thus, it is said and conjectured, to have it believed that, to escape the destruction of the house, the King had killed himself when descending from the window. M. di Moretta says he left the Queen deeply afflicted, and in great fear of a worse fate. She had published a proclamation promising four thousand francs and a large annuity for life to any one who would denounce the malefactors, but hitherto no one of them has been discovered.

It was widely rumoured that the principal persons of the kingdom were implicated in the act, because they were dissatisfied with the King; and, above all, a bastard brother of the Queen (the Earl of Murray) is suspected, because, at the time when she was at variance with her husband, the bastard told her that the King had boasted to him of having had intimacy with her before she was his wife. The Queen, exasperated, asked the King if it was true that he had said this; the King denied it, and gave the lie to the said bastard, who repeated the accusation to the King's face; so from this private quarrel the report arose that the bastard had desired to revenge himself.

To Philip II. the news of the murder was conveyed by his Ambassador in England in the following letters:

GUZMAN DE SILVA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *February* 17, 1567.

On the 14th inst. Secretary Cecil sent to tell me that the Queen had news of the finding of the dead

[1] It was widely reported abroad at first that Lennox had been assassinated, as well as his son.

body of the King of Scotland out of doors in his shirt, but without a wound, and with him the dead body of one of his servants, but no news has come as to who had been the author of the crime, nor were any other particulars known. What has been learnt is that the King had been very ill of small-pox in Glasgow, and that the Queen went there to visit him, but he was in so bad a state with the eruptions on his face that he begged her not to see him till he was somewhat better, to which she agreed. After the crisis of the malady was passed, she saw him and brought him to Edinburgh in a litter, and placed him in a country house near the city, and it was here that the misfortune happened, the Queen being, they tell me, at the Castle. The case is a very strange one, and has greatly grieved the Catholics. I think that more must be known than Cecil tells me, because when I sent to ask him if he had any further particulars, he told me he had not, but we should soon know more, because the Earl of Murray was coming hither, and two gentlemen also whom the Queen of Scotland was sending respectively to France and England, who, no doubt, would bring further details. . . .

February 22, 1567.

On the night of the 19th inst. [Robert] Melville, the Queen of Scotland's gentleman, who has been here on previous occasions, arrived here as a messenger from his Queen to the Queen of England. He tells me that when the King's death happened he had already started on his road hither, but as soon as he learned what had happened he returned in order to know whether his Queen wished to alter anything in the dispatch of which he was the bearer. She was too much distressed for him to see her, but had ordered him to continue his journey as he had been previously instructed. He relates the murder of the King in the same way that I wrote in mine of the 17th, only that the Queen was not in the Castle, but in her house at Edinburgh, which is as far from the place

where her husband was, as the Palace of Westminster is from St. James's, and every day since the King's arrival, the Queen had been to visit him, and on the night of the murder had been playing with him for three hours, and had given him a jewel. At two o'clock after midnight the house was blown up, and the next morning the King and one of his grooms of the chamber, who slept in the same apartment, were found dead in the garden, but without any signs of wounds, and forty paces from the house. In the ruins of the house another servant had been found dead, five others having escaped, who only knew that they had heard the noise. He tells me the house was a small one, with gardens, and in a good and healthy position, and for this reason the King had chosen to lodge there. I asked him certain questions to try and get at the bottom of the suspicions as to who had been the author of the crime, but could get nothing definite. . . . Even if the Queen clears herself from it, the matter is still obscure.

This Queen expresses sorrow at the death of the King, and she thinks that, although he married against her wish, yet as he was a royal patronage, and her cousin, the case is a very grave one, and she signifies her intention to punish the offenders. She sent to inform the King's mother of his death by the Countess of Withington,[1] the wife of the Lord Chamberlain, and the wife of Cecil. The mother was so grieved that it was necessary for the Queen to send her doctors to her. She has been taken out of the Tower, and placed in Sackville's house, where she arrived yesterday.

Melville has been told and repeats to me that Lady Margaret used words against his Queen, whereat I am not surprised, as I told him, because grief like this distracts the most prudent people, much more one so

[1] *Sic* in original. Cecil in his letter to Sir Henry Norris in Paris, February 20, 1567 (Hatfield Papers), says: "The Queen's Majesty sent yesterday my Lady Howard and my wife to Lady Lennox in the Tower to open this matter unto her; who could not by any means be kept from such passion of mind as the horribleness of the fact did require."

sorely beset. She is not the only person that suspects the Queen to have had some hand in the business, and they think they see in it revenge for her Italian Secretary, and the long estrangement which this caused between her and her husband gave a greater opportunity for evil persons to increase the trouble. The heretics here publish the Queen's complicity as a fact, but they are helped in their belief by their suspicion and dislike for her. The Catholics are divided, the friends of the King holding with the Queen's guilt and her adherents the contrary. However it may be, this event will give birth to others, and it is quite possible that this Queen may take the opportunity of disturbing the Scots; more for her own ends, than for any love she bore the King, as she no doubt thinks that she is entitled honestly to take advantage of events.

After writing this I had an audience with the Queen this afternoon ostensibly to speak of certain matters concerning your Majesty's subjects, although principally to speak about Scottish affairs, and find out her opinion with regard to them, and if she had any further particulars. She spoke of the matter with much apparent sorrow, and said she thought it very extraordinary, but cannot believe the Queen of Scotland can be to blame for so dreadful a thing, notwithstanding the murmurs of the people. I told her I thought the rumours were set afloat by people who desire to injure her, and make her odious in this country in respect to this succession, but I agreed with her that the thing was incredible, and advised her [Elizabeth] to be on the alert to prevent undue elation of the opposite party, who were strong and might cause trouble, meaning that of Catherine [Grey], although I did not mention her name. She tells me she had already taken precautions by certain signs and words she had used to exculpate the Queen of Scotland. . . .

I praised her action in consoling and taking Margaret out of prison, and said how it had been

Photo Emery Walker.

MARGARET DOUGLAS, COUNTESS OF LENNOX.

From the portrait in the National Gallery. Painter unknown.

approved by all, and I again reminded her of the need for Princes to agree together, for mutual support, in order to give no opportunity for bad subjects and rebels to obtain so much license as they claim now from their masters. This seemed to her very necessary, and truly in the present state of things it is. The interests of religion may be also brought on as a consequence of this, as without religion of course peace and quietness cannot exist. The Queen has ordered all the keys of doors leading to her chambers to be taken away, and the only entrance is by one door. Great care has been ordered in the guard of her house. I do not know whether the Scottish business is the cause of this, or if there have been any signs of disaffection in this city, which make a special guard necessary; but I do not think that it is anything of importance.

Guzman's wily words fell on fruitful soil when he warned Elizabeth of the dangers of encouraging rebellious subjects. It is not unlikely that she heartily dreaded any discovery of Mary's connexion with the crime which would give the Scottish people grounds for taking the law in the matter into their own hands. In a letter in French written two days after the above conversation with Guzman, and sent to Edinburgh by Henry Killigrew, she begged Mary not to "look through her fingers"—the very thing, it will be remembered, which Lethington, at the Craigmillar Conference (p. 141) assured Mary that Murray would do:

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

WESTMINSTER, *February* 24, 1567.

Madame,

My ears have been so astounded and my heart so frightened to hear of the horrible and abominable murder of your "*feu mary et mon tue* (?) *cousin*," that I have scarcely spirit to write: yet I cannot conceal that I grieve more for you than him. I should not do the office of a faithful cousin and friend, if I

did not urge you to preserve your honour, rather than look through your fingers at revenge on those who have done you "*tel plaisir*," as most people say. I counsel you so to take this matter to heart, that you may show the world what a noble princess and loyal woman you are. I write thus vehemently not that I doubt, but for affection. As for the three matters communicated by Melville, I understand your wish to please me, and that you will grant the request by Lord Bedford in my name to ratify the treaty made six or seven years past. On other things I will not trouble you at length, referring you to the report of this gentleman.

CHAPTER VI

BOTHWELL "RULES ALL"

The Burial of Darnley—Mary's Mourning—Killigrew's Account—What Happened at Seton—Bothwell in Power but Denounced as the Murderer—His Threat—Mary to Beaton on the Murder and her Need of Money—Lennox's Appeal for Justice—His Correspondence with Mary—The Feeling Abroad—Archbishop Beaton's Warning—Bothwell Supreme—Murray Retires to the Continent—Arrangements for Bothwell's Trial—Elizabeth Intercedes for its Postponement—The Mock Trial—Murray on the Situation—"Ainslie's Band"—Mary's Capture by Bothwell—The Stirling Letters—Bothwell Leads Mary back to Edinburgh.

When Robert Melville rode off with his tragic news to Queen Elizabeth he left the widowed Queen "confined to her chamber, with the intention of not leaving it for forty days, as is the custom of widows there."[1] How long she remained in seclusion is as uncertain as are the details of Darnley's burial, in which "such contempt, or at least neglect" was said to have been used—to quote from the "Instructions for Lord Grey sent to the Queen of Scots" in Cecil's writing—as "caused great indignation."[2] Buchanan declares that Mary had her husband's body buried beside Riccio, in fulfilment of her alleged threat at the time of her favourite's murder that "a fatter than he should lie anear him" before the twelvemonth was out. This improbable story is only worth repeating if we accept Buchanan's earlier statement to the effect that Mary had interred the remains of Riccio in the tomb of James V. Three other contemporary accounts agree that Darnley was buried, within four or five days of the murder, at Holyrood, quietly, and in the night—"beside King James V.," according to one of these contemporaries.[3]

On the following day, we are told on the authority of the "Diurnal of Occurrents," Mary visited Seton, leaving

[1] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 619.
[2] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 214.
[3] Dr. Hay Fleming's "Mary, Queen of Scots," pp. 441-2.

Bothwell and the Earl of Huntly in the Palace of Holyrood "to keep the Prince until her returning," which is given as the 19th. This disqualifies the entry in "Cecil's Diary" to the effect that Mary remained with Bothwell in Edinburgh from the date of the murder until the 21st. There are letters in Labanoff, too, which show that Mary was again at Seton both on that date and at the end of March. On February 26 Robert Melville wrote to Cecil: "The Queen has gone to Seton to repose."[1] Cecil could hardly help putting two and two together when he read, also, in a letter written by Sir William Drury, that the Queen's repose took the form of a shooting match, in which she had Bothwell as a partner against Lord Seton and the Earl of Huntly. Bothwell and the Queen won, says Drury, and Seton and Huntly paid for the dinner.[2] Against this must be set the defence of Bishop Lesley, who maintains that Mary would have continued her solitary mourning "and used none other than candle light" for a much longer period, but for her health's sake, on account of which she was persuaded by her physicians and Council to "leave that kind of close and solitary life, and repaire to some good, open and wholesome air."[3] Whether, as the "Book of Articles" declared, she found Seton convenient for the indulgence of her passion for Bothwell, as well as for the more innocent games of golf and "pall-mall," it is now impossible to say. So many baseless rumours and scandalous tales were rife that every detail of the kind must be regarded with the gravest suspicion until authenticated, or sufficiently corroborated from independent sources. We are on surer ground when we come to the following letter from Killigrew, containing an account of Mary as he saw her in Edinburgh on March 8:

HENRY KILLIGREW TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

EDINBURGH, *March* 8, 1567.

Though I trust shortly to be with you, I write somewhat meanwhile. I had no audience till this

[1] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 180.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 182.
[3] Anderson's "Collections," Vol. I., pp. 24-5.

day, which was after I had dined with my Lord of Murray, who was accompanied with the Lord Chancellor, Argyll, Bothwell, and Lethington. I found the Queen in a dark chamber, and could not see her face; but by her words she seemed very doleful, and accepted my Sovereign's letters and messages in very thankful manner. I hope for her answer in two days, which I think will gratify the Queen's Majesty as much as the time permits, for the Borders, Ireland, and also the treaty of Leith. I find great suspicions and no proof nor appearance of apprehension yet: although I am made believe I shall before I depart hence. My Lord of Lennox hath sent to require the Queen that such persons as were named in the bill you had before my departure might be taken. Answer is made him that if he or any will stand to the accusation of any of them, it shall be done, but not by virtue of the bill or his request. I look to hear his answer on that point. He is among his friends beside Glasgow, where he thinks himself safe, as a man of his told me. I see no present trouble or appearance, but a general misliking among the Commons and others which abhor the detestable murder of their King, a shame as they suppose to the whole nation. The preachers say, and pray openly to God, that it will please Him both to reveal and revenge; exhorting all men to prayer and repentance.

This does not bear out the story of the counterfeited mourning which figures both in the "Book of Articles" and the "Detection." In the melodramatic words of the latter work Buchanan writes: "When Henry Killigrew was come from the Queen of England to comfort her, as the manner is, this gentleman stranger's hap was to spoil the play, and disclose all the disguising; for when he was by the Queen's commandment come to the Court—though an old courtier and a good, discreet gentleman, doing nothing hastily—yet he came in so unseasonably, before the stage was prepared and furnished, that he found the windows open, the candles

not yet lit, and all the provisions of the play out of order." Both versions of this story, too, place the date of Killigrew's visit as within twelve days of the murder, whereas his own letter shows that it took place nearly a month after the crime.

More damaging to Mary than all the flotsam and jetsam of gossip as to how much or how long she mourned for a husband whom, in her heart of hearts, she had little reason to regret, is the fact that she did so little to bring the murderers to justice. Beyond the inevitable offer of a reward —announced two days after the deed, and promising a free pardon, two thousand pounds, and "an honest yearly rent" to the first revealer of "the persons, devisers, counsellors, or actual committers of the said mischievous and treasonable murder"—neither the Queen nor her Council showed any real inclination to make good their published determination "to leave nothing possible undone whereby the author of so ungodly and strange an enterprise may be revealed and rigorously punished."[1] More than that, the man above all men who was pointed at as the chief author of the crime now became her most trusted adviser, although, as Father Stevenson himself says in his edition of Nau's "History," "the evidence against him was so abundant and so conclusive that his guilt was unquestionable from the night of the murder."

There was no doubt in the people's mind as to Bothwell's connexion with the crime. Bills were surreptitiously posted on the Tolbooth, two nights after the tragedy, denouncing Bothwell, James Balfour and David Chambers as the murderers. Subsequently other and more daring bills—some including the Queen in their insinuations—were posted in the same secret way on the Market Cross and elsewhere, not omitting Holyrood House itself, while portraits of Bothwell were distributed boldly inscribed: "Here is the murderer of the King." Bothwell was not the man to sit still under these insidious attacks. Before the end of the month he rode through Edinburgh, "where he declared that if he knew who were the setters up of the bills," as Sir William Drury informed Cecil on the 28th, "he would wash his hands in their blood. His followers, to the number of fifty, follow

[1] Registry of Privy Council, Vol. I., p. 498.

him very near; their gesture, as his, is much noted. His hand, as he talks to any that is not assured to him, is upon his dagger, with a strange countenance."[1] No wonder people hesitated before they openly charged such a man with murder. According to Guzman, writing after Killigrew's return to London, Bothwell's bodyguard consisted of 500 men:

The Queen tells me that the Queen of Scotland showed great sorrow at the death of her husband, and that grave suspicion existed that the author of the crime was the Earl of Bothwell, and others who are now with that Queen, who did not dare to proceed against them, or make any demonstration in consequence of the influence and strength of Bothwell, both on account of his perpetual office of Admiral, and because the Queen has given him the charge of 500 men, who no doubt were those who formed her guard. I learnt this also from Killigrew, from what he could discover there, although the Queen of Scotland for her dignity's sake did not tell him, but rather dissembled, and spoke of sending her child hither. . . . . This Queen said she did not know, however, what she would do, but if she sent the child here, it would cause her anxiety, as any little illness it might have would distress her, and she knew that the French would do their best to take the infant to France. I told the Queen that no effort should be spared to bring him here, or at least to prevent his being taken anywhere else.[2]

That there were grounds for fearing a revival of the French danger in Scotland is evident from Mary's second letter to Archbishop Beaton after the tragedy, written from Seton on February 18, in which she expressed her desire to have her son appointed captain of the Scots Company of the men-at-arms in Paris, and urged her Ambassador with all diligence to maintain good offices of friendship with the

[1] Foreign Papers, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 182.
[2] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 628.

Queen Mother of France: "and let her understand how far we think us obliged to her for her good counsel and admonitions from time to time shown us, as well by you, as her own letters to ourself, and as we think them most profitable for us, so will we apply ourselves and our affairs to be governed by them before all others."[1] The following extracts from the same long letter are the only references to the murder itself, instructions being sandwiched in regarding Mary's pressing need for money:

We received your letter of the 28th day of January upon the tenth of this instant, and that same day wrote to you, with Clarnault, of the sudden mischief happened to the King our husband, which being then so grieved and tormented we could not make you answer to the particular heads of your said letter, but remitted the same until now. . . . We pray you be very earnest for the forty thousand francs, and take not it until we have already received, for a resolute answer; but travail for payment of our assignation. For it will put us partly by our purpose and we be frustrated of that wherewith in our count we had appointed divers things to be done, which cannot goodly sustain delay. . . .

We thank you heartily for your advertisement made to us, of that which the Ambassador of Spain showed you, as also of your communication with the Queen Mother, toward our estate. But alas! your message came too late; and there was over good cause to have given us such warning, the like whereof we received of the Spanish Ambassador resident in England. But even the very morning before your servant's arrival was the horrible and treasonable act executed in the King's person that may well appear to have been conspired against ourself, the circumstance of the matter being considered; whereupon at this present we will be no more tedious, abiding until God manifest the authors to the world. For

[1] Labanoff, Vol. II., p. 7.

knowledge whereof neither we nor our Council shall spare the travail that possibly may be made, wherethrough truth may come to light; and therein is our chief care and study at this present; which we pray God may suddenly take good effect to His glory and our comfort. . . . Finally we pray you, as of before, be careful and diligent toward our assignation, for we have written presently to M. de l'Aubespine and M. du Gonnoir for that purpose, whom also we shall solicit and pretermit no occasion to bring the matter to perfection, seeing we have so necessary to do with the same.

Meantime the Earl of Lennox was doing his feeble best to avenge the death of his son. Unfortunately the first two letters which passed between Mary and her father-in-law after the murder have been lost. The Earl's second letter, written from Houston Castle on February 20, contained his humble appeal for justice:

That whereas, notwithstanding the travail and labour which I perceive your Majesty takes for the just trial of this last cruel act, and yet the offenders not being known, to my great grief I am therefore forced, by nature and duty, to be so bold as to give your Majesty my poor and simple advice for bringing the matter to light; which is to beseech your Majesty most humbly, for God's cause, and the honour of your Majesty and this your realm, that your Highness would, with convenient diligence, assemble the whole nobility and Estates of your Majesty's realm; and they, by your advice, to take such good order for the perfect trial of the matter, as I doubt not, with the grace of Almighty God, his Holy Spirit shall so work upon the hearts of your Majesty and all your faithful subjects, as the bloody and cruel actors of this deed shall be manifestly known. And although I need not to put your Majesty in remembrance thereof, the matter touching your Majesty so near as it does, yet I shall humbly desire your Highness to bear with me

in troubling your Highness therein, being the father to him that is gone.[1]

The sequel is best told in the subsequent correspondence between Lennox and his daughter-in-law:

MARY STUART TO THE EARL OF LENNOX.

[Labanoff, "*Lettres de Marie Stuart*," Vol. II.]

SETON, *February* 21, 1567.

Right trusty cousin and counsellor, we greet you well.

We have received your letter of Houston the 20th day of this instant, giving us thanks for the accepting of your good will and counsel in so good part; in that we did only that which was right. And in showing you all the pleasure and goodwill that we can, we do but our duty, and that which natural affection may compel us unto. Always of that ye may assure yourself as certainly at this present and hereafter, so long as God gives us life, as ever we might have done since our first acquaintance with you.

And for the assembly of the nobility and Estates, which you advised us to cause to be convened for a perfect trial to be had of the King our husband's cruel slaughter: it is indeed convenient that such should be, and even shortly before the receipt of your letter we had caused proclaim a parliament; at the which we doubt not but you all for the most part shall be present, where first of all this matter (being most dear to us) shall be handled and nothing left undone which may further the clear trial of the same. And we for our own part as we ought and all noble men likewise (we doubt not) shall most willingly direct all our wits and judgments to this end, as experience, in fine, with God's grace, shall give witness to the world. And so we commit you to God.

Your good daughter,

MARIE, R.

[1] Keith's "Church and State in Scotland," Vol. II., p. 525.

THE EARL OF LENNOX TO MARY STUART.

[Keith's "*Church and State in Scotland*," Vol. II.]

HOUSTON, *February* 26, 1567.

I render most humble thanks unto your Majesty for your gracious and comfortable letter which I have received the 24th of this instant; and whereas I perceive by the same that it is your Majesty's pleasure to remit the trial of this late odious act to the time of a Parliament, please your Majesty, although I am assured your Highness thinks the time as long as I do, till the matter be tried, and the actors of that deed condignly punished (yet I shall humbly crave your Majesty's pardon in troubling your Highness so oft therein as I do, for that the matter touches me so near), beseeching your Majesty most humbly to accept this my simple advice in good part, as follows, which is, that where the time is long to the Parliament, this matter not being a Parliament matter, but of such weight and importance, which ought rather to be with all expedition and diligence sought out, and punished to the example of the whole world, as I know your Majesty's wisdom considers the same, far more nor my wits can comprehend; yet, forasmuch as I hear of certain tickets that have been put on the Tolbooth door of Edinburgh, answering your Majesty's first and second proclamations, which names in special certain persons devisers of the cruel murder, I shall therefore most humbly beseech your Majesty, for the love of God, the honour of your Majesty and your realm, and weal and quietness of the same, that it will please your Majesty forthwith, not only to apprehend, and put in sure keeping, the persons named in the said tickets, but also with diligence to assemble your Majesty's nobility, and then, by open proclamation, to admonish and require the writers of the said tickets to compare, according to the effect thereof. At which time, if they do not, your Majesty may, by the advice of your nobility and Council, relieve and put to liberty the persons in the tickets aforesaid; so shall your Majesty do an honourable

and godly act in bringing the matter to such a narrow point, as either the matter shall appear plainly before your Majesty, to the punishment of those who have been the actors of this cruel deed, or else the said tickets to be found vain of themselves, and the persons who are slandered to be exonerated and put to liberty at your Majesty's pleasure. So commit your Majesty to the protection of Almighty God, who preserve you in health and most happy reign.

MARY STUART TO THE EARL OF LENNOX.

[Labanoff's "*Lettres de Marie Stuart*," Vol. II.]

SETON, *March* 1, 1567.

Right trusty cousin and counsellor, we greet you well.

We have received your letter, and by the same perceive that you have partly mistaken our late letter sent you with your servant upon the 23rd of February in that point that we should remit the trial of the odious act committed, to the time of a Parliament. We meant not that, but rather would wish to God that it might be suddenly and without delay tried; for the sooner the better, and the greater comfort for us; yet because your advice was that we should convene our whole nobility for that purpose, we assured you that we had already proclaimed a Parliament, at the which they would convene, and before the which we judged it should not be able to get them together, since they would think double convening heavy to them; and so in making mention of a Parliament we meant not that this trial was a Parliament matter, nor that it was requisite until then to defer it; but that the nobility would then be best convened. And where you desire that we should cause the names contained in some tickets, affixed on the Tolbooth door of Edinburgh, to be apprehended and put in sure keeping: there is so many of the said tickets, and therewithal so different and contrary to others in counting of the names, that we wot not upon what ticket to proceed. But if there be any names men-

tioned in them that you think worthy to suffer a trial, upon your advertisement we shall so proceed to the cognition taking, as may stand with the laws of this realm; and being found culpable, shall see the punishment as rigorously executed as the wickedness of the crime deserves. What other thing you think meet to be done to that purpose we pray you let us understand, and we shall not omit any occasion which may clear the matter. And so fare you well.—Your good daughter, MARIE, R.

THE EARL OF LENNOX TO MARY STUART.[1]

[Keith's "*Church and State in Scotland*," Vol. II.]

HOUSTON, *March*, 17, 1567.

. . . For the names of the persons aforesaid, I marvel that the same have been kept from your Majesty's ears, considering the effect of the said tickets, and the names of the persons are so openly talked of; that is to say, in the first ticket the Earl of Bothwell, Master James Balfour, Master David Chambers, and black John Spens: and in the second ticket, Signor Francis, Bastien, John de Bourdeaux, and Joseph, David's brother, which persons, I assure your Majesty, I, for my part, greatly suspect; and now your Majesty knowing their names, and being the party as well, and more nor I am, although I was the father, I doubt not but your Majesty will take order in the matter according to the weight of the cause, which I most entirely and humbly beseech. So commit your Majesty to the protection of Almighty God.

MARY STUART TO THE EARL OF LENNOX.

[Labanoff, "*Lettres de Marie Stuart*," Vol. II.]

EDINBURGH, *March* 23, 1567.

Right trusty cousin and counsellor, we greet you well. We have received your letter of Houston, the 17th

[1] A different version of this letter, bearing the same date, is given by Buchanan in the "Detection." It adds to the list of those denounced on th placards the name of Gilbert Balfour, brother of James Balfour.

of this instant, relative to our last writing sent you, and specially naming the persons contained in the tickets [bills] you greatly suspect. For the convention of our nobility and Council, we have prevented the thing desired by you in your letter, and have sent for them to be at us in Edinburgh this week approaching; where the persons nominated in your letter shall abide and undergo such trial as by the laws of this realm is accustomed; and being found culpable in any wise of that crime and odious fact nominated in the tickets and whereof you suspect them, we shall even according to our former letter see the condign punishment as rigorously and extremely executed as that fact deserves. For indeed (as you write) we esteem ourself party if we were resolute of the authors. And therefore we pray you, if your leisure and commodity may suit, address you to be at us here in Edinburgh this week approaching, where you may see the said trial, and declare the things which you know may further the same, and there you shall have experience of our earnest will and affectionate mind to have an end in this matter and the authors of so unworthy a deed really punished, as far forth in effect as before this and now presently we have written and promised. And so for the present commit you to God.—Your good daughter,

MARIE, R.

Mary was faced with other insistent demands and entreaties for justice, besides those of her father-in-law. On March 29 Sir William Drury informed Cecil that Catherine de' Medici "wrote very severely to the Queen affirming that if she performed not her promise to have the death of the King revenged to clear herself, they would not only think her dishonoured, but would be her enemies."[1] How strong was the feeling abroad on the subject she learned from her own Ambassador in Paris in a letter written on March 11:

[1] Foreign Calendar, Vol. VIII., p. 198.

ARCHBISHOP BEATON TO MARY STUART.

[Stevenson's "*Selections*."]

PARIS, *March* 11, 1567.

. . . It rests me to answer to that part [of your Majesty's dispatch] that concerns my servitors, William Walker and William Hiegait, which shall be short, that in case they have contravened the duty of true subjects to your Majesty I have nothing ado with them, nor never intend in that behalf to make instance to do further towards the trial of their demerits than conform to justice. It might please your Majesty to believe surely this for my part, and that as from the beginning I have had no knowledge of their proceedings, so will I not meddle me therewith in time to come. The second was only the discourse shortly of the horrible, mischievous, and strange enterprise and execution done against the King's Majesty, who by craft of men has so violently been shortened of his days. Of this deed, if I would write all that is spoken here, namely, of the miserable estate of that realm, and also in England, by the dishonour of the nobility, mistrust and treason of your whole subjects, yea than that yourself is greatly and wrongfully calumniated to be the motive principal of the whole of all, and all done by your command, I can conclude nothing by that your Majesty writes to me yourself, that since it has pleased God to preserve you to take a rigorous vengeance thereof, that rather than it be not actually taken it appears to me better in this world that you had lost life and all.

I ask your Majesty's pardon that I write so far, for I can hear nothing to your prejudice but I must contrive to write the same, that all may come to your knowledge, for the better remedy may be put thereto. Here it is needful that ye foreshow now, rather than ever before, the great virtue, magnanimity, and constancy that God has granted you, by Whose grace I hope you shall overcome this most heavy envy and displeasure of the committing thereof, and conserve

that reputation in all godliness you have conquest of long, which can appear no ways more clearly than that you do such justice as to the whole world may declare your innocence, and give testimony for ever of their treason that have committed, without fear of God or man, so cruel and ungodly a murder, whereof there is so much evil spoken that I am constrained to ask you mercy that neither can I, nor will I, make the rehearsal thereof, which is over odious.

But alas, Madame, this day over all Europe there is no purpose in head so frequent as of your Majesty and of the present estate of your realm, which is for the most part interpreted sinisterly; yet is not the hand of God and His mighty power short, but by His comfort and help, imploring truly the same and serving Him with all your heart, you may have such consolation by Him that you shall be able to remove that which is to your Majesty's harm or disadvantage, and establish that expectation that hitherto the whole world has conceived of your virtue. And I beseech your Majesty right humbly, cast here the foundation of your relief, and all the rest of your desires shall come to pass to your contentment and honour; otherwise I fear this to be only the beginning and first act of the tragedy, and all to run from evil to worse, which I pray God of His infinite goodness to avoid. . . . I did thank the Ambassador of Spain on your behalf of the advertisement he had made you, although it came too late, who yet has desired me to remind your Majesty that he is informed and advertised by the same means he was of before there is yet some notable enterprise against you, wherewith he wishes you to beware in time. I write this far with great regret, by reason I can come no ways to the knowledge of any particulars of his master.

In spite of all these admonitions to clear her reputation in the eyes of the world, Mary not only continued to allow Bothwell to take the lead, but also singled him out for the bestowal of grants in money, in privileges, and in beautiful

old ecclesiastical vestments.[1] It is also alleged by Lennox in the Lennox MSS. that Mary presented Bothwell with the horses, armour, and other effects of her murdered husband. Buchanan would have us believe that the late King's property was so openly distributed among his murderers, that a tailor who was altering one of the victim's suits to fit Bothwell, had the incredible temerity to say to that very dangerous customer, "that it was but right, and according to the custom of the country, for the clothes of the deceased to be given to the executioner." Innocent or guilty, Mary's position throughout this crisis can only be described as heart-breaking. In either case, she was hedged about at every turn by men whose sole anxiety it was that their own share in the crime should never be revealed. Bothwell "ruled all," and with Lethington—whether forced into it or not—and other members of her Council more or less directly involved in the plot, it is difficult to see how Mary, single-handed, could have brought the murderers to justice. Even Murray did not move in the matter—except, as will presently be seen—to betake himself to the Continent until time should smooth his path in Scotland. On March 13 he wrote to Cecil "to crave a safe conduct to be sent me in convenient haste," delivering himself also as follows on the subject of the recent tragedy:

Howsoever their last accidents have altered many men's judgments, yet being assured that constant men will mean constantly, I would not pretermit this occasion to signify the constancy of one thankful heart for the many and large benefits I have from time to time received by your means. And as I am touched myself, so do I judge of you and all men that feareth God, and embrace the love of Christ and honour, as concerning this late accident so odious and so detestable; yet am I persuaded discreet persons will not rashly judge in so horrible a crime, but of honest personages mean honestly until truth declare and convince the contrary—neither for particular means interpreting so ungodly, withdraw their

[1] Andrew Lang's "Mystery of Mary Stuart," p. 176.

good will from so great a multitude as I am assured detest this wild attempt even from their hearts.[1]

This was written on the day on which James Murray of Tullibardine was proclaimed a traitor for drawing caricatures of the Queen and Bothwell. James Murray fled, but "sent to the Queen craving her favour," wrote Drury to Cecil on the 29th, "and offered to bring five or six with him, and charge as many in the Court as were the devisers of this cruel murder, and to try it either armed or naked."[2] Instead of accepting this challenge the Council, with Bothwell himself sitting as a member, and doubtless ruling the rest, arranged for Bothwell's trial to meet the charges of Lennox on April 12. Already, wrote Drury in the letter just quoted, "the judgment of the people is that the Queen will marry Bothwell," adding, a day later, that the Earl of Huntly "has now condescended to the divorce of his sister" from his reckless ally. Both Mary and Lennox appear to have appealed to Elizabeth for moral support. Mary's letter, according to Guzman's account of it to Philip, "only contained lamentations for the troubles she had suffered in her life, and a request that the Queen would pity her, especially in her present grief for her husband, which was greatly increased by the desire of the wicked people to throw the blame of such a bad act upon her. She therefore asked the Queen to help her in her troubles, as she could trust no one else, and begged her not to allow her to be calumniated in this country."[3]

Lennox, on his part, besought Elizabeth to intercede with Mary that the trial fixed for April 12 might be postponed. Drury, in sending word to this effect on April 4, wrote that "the causes are, first, that the day is much sooner than he can bring together those who know the whole action; further that the Queen will not permit James Murray and others for the assistance and knowledge of the murder to compare in safety. Also, the said Earl cannot so soon, with any sufficient strength, come to defend such dangers as are intended by his suspected contraries towards him and

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 318.
[2] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 198.
[3] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 623.

the followers of the trial. Lastly, that there be certain bonds interchangedly taken between all those who are suspected."[1]

On the eve of the trial, and as a sort of forlorn hope, Lennox pleaded illness. When he wrote he was actually on his way to Edinburgh, having succeeded in collecting a force of 3,000 men, if we are to credit the statement to that effect in a letter from Sir John Forster at Alnwick to Cecil, in which it is further stated that he "had commandment that he should not come to Edinburgh above six in his company, and thereupon refused to come in that manner."[2] There was probably more truth in this than in Lennox's own excuse of indisposition, for he well knew that Edinburgh was swarming with Bothwell's men, and no place for him at such a time with a paltry half-dozen supporters:

THE EARL OF LENNOX TO MARY STUART.

[Keith's "*Church and State in Scotland*," Vol. II.]

STIRLING, *April* 11, 1567.

I am lately informed that there have been proclamations made at Glasgow and Dumbarton, charging me and others having, or pretended to have, interest to concur with your Majesty, and to pursue the Earl Bothwell and others for the treasonable murder of the King your Majesty's husband, to appear before your Highness's Justice or his Deputies in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh the 12th day of April instant. The which I assure your Majesty I am not able to keep; for being presently on my journey upon set purpose and deliberate mind to keep the same, am fallen in such disease that I may no-way goodly travel; yea, although I were able, I doubt not but in consideration of the shortness of time and importance of this great and weighty matter, and also in respect of sundry other reasonable motives and causes belonging to the same, your Majesty will bear with me in beseeching your Majesty most humbly for justice and righteous causes, and for your own honour

[1] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., pp. 199-200.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 206.

being most principal part, that it will please your Majesty, conform to my former several letters, your Highness would cause apprehend and put in sure keeping the suspect persons named in the same (avoiding your Majesty's company of them). For it was never heard of, but in the trial of such an odious fact, all suspected persons were always apprehended, what degree soever they were of, suppose they were not guilty of the fact, till the matter was truly tried.

And also, that it would please your Majesty to defer this day of law until such a reasonable time as I may not only convene my friends for keeping of the same, conform to the laws of this realm, as your Majesty shall appoint, but also, that I may have sufficient time to serve and seek true trial at all hands, and in all parts, for manifestation of this most odious crime, so I shall not fail (God willing) to keep that time appointed, and hope in God to bring with me such proof as the truth shall be known: otherwise the suspect persons continuing still at liberty, being great in Court, and about your Majesty's person, comforts and encourages them and theirs, and discourages all others that would give in evidence against them. So that if your Majesty suffer this short day of law to go forward, after the manner as is appointed, I assure your Majesty you shall have no just trial as you shall have hereafter; and thus giving your Majesty my simple advice in the way I can for the just trial of this unnatural and cruel fact, so near as God gives me the grace according to my duty; beseeching also your Majesty most humbly to grant me your high commission to apprehend and take such persons as I shall get knowledge that were at the cruel murder, I commit your Majesty to the protection of Almighty God.

Elizabeth responded to Lennox's appeal with a letter—now translated from the French—to the following effect, sent post haste, but just too late to be of any service:

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

[Robertson's "*History of Scotland*," Vol. III.]

WESTMINSTER, *April* 8, 1567.

Madame,

I should not have been so inconsiderate as to trouble you with this letter had it not been that the bonds of charity towards the ruined, and the prayers of the miserable, constrained me. I understand that a proclamation has been issued by you, Madame, that the trial of those suspected of being concerned in the murder of your late husband, and my late cousin, would take place on the 12th of this month. This is a thing which it is most necessary should not be hidden in mystery or craftiness, which in such a case might happen; and the father and friends of the dead gentleman have humbly requested that I should pray you to postpone the date, because they are aware that these iniquitous persons are contriving to do by violence what they could not do lawfully. Therefore I cannot do otherwise, for the love of you, whom it touches most, and for the consolation of the innocent, than exhort you to grant this request, which, if it be denied, will turn suspicion largely on you. For the love of God, Madame, use such sincerity and prudence in this matter, which touches you so nearly, that all the world may feel justified in believing you innocent of so enormous a crime, which, if you were not, would be good cause for degrading you from the rank of princess, and bringing upon you the scorn of the vulgar. Sooner than that this should befall you, I would wish you an honourable grave, rather than a dishonoured life. You see, Madame, I treat you as my daughter, and assure you that if I had one, I could wish for her nothing better than I desire for you, as our Lord God may bear witness, to whom I pray with all my heart that He will inspire you to do what will be most to your honour, and for the consolation of your friends. With my very cordial recommendations, as to the one for whom one wishes the greatest good that may be possible in this world.

There was, however, no intention of postponing the trial, as Sir William Drury's messenger could plainly see on arriving with Elizabeth's letter on the morning of that farcical "day of law" in Edinburgh. The tense excitement on that occasion, and the dominating personality of that "glorious, rash and hazardous young man," as Throckmorton once called Bothwell, are nowhere more vividly recorded than in Drury's picturesque account:

SIR WILLIAM DRURY TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[Tytler's "*History of Scotland*," Vol. VII.]

April 15, 1567.

Right Honourable,

The Queen's Majesty's letter, directed to the Queen of Scots, I received the 11th hereof at ten of the clock, which forthwith I discharged by the Provost Marshal here, who in my opinion was not the unmeetest I could choose for the purpose. He arrived at the Court the 12th at six in the morning, and then used his diligence immediately to deliver his letter, which he had in charge, to the Queen, attending some good space in Court, procuring all that he might by the means of such as were near her person, who told him it was early and that her Majesty was asleep, and therefore advised him to tarry some time thereabouts, till she arose, which he did, going out of the Court into the town, and shortly after returned, she being not yet risen, and therefore walked about till nine or till almost ten o'clock, when all the Lords and gentlemen were assembled taking their horse; and then, thinking his opportunity aptest, going into the Court as a little before he did, (the contents of the letter he brought, being conjectured and bruited to be for stay of the assize), was denied passage into the Court in very uncourteous manner, not without some violence offered; which seeing he could not be permitted to have recourse, as all other persons whatsoever they were, he requested that some gentleman of credit would undertake faithfully to deliver his letter, from the Queen's Majesty of England, to the Queen their Sovereign, which none would seem to undertake.

Upon this came unto him the parson of Oldhamstock, surnamed Hepburn, who told him that the Earl Bothwell had sent him with this message, that the Earl understanding he had letters for the Queen, would advise him to retire him to his ease, or about some other his business, for the Queen was so molested and disquieted with the business of that day, that he saw no likelihood of any meet time to serve his turn till after the assize.

Then came the Lord of Stirling, who asked him if his letter were either from the Council or the Queen's Majesty: he told him from the Queen's Majesty only. "Then," said he, "ye shall be soon discharged"; and so returning into the Court, desired the Provost to keep him company at the gate, which he did; and therewith espying a Scottish man, whom he had for his guide, [Stirling] took occasion to reprehend and threaten him of hanging for bringing English villains as sought to and procure the stay of the assize, with words of more reproach.

At this instant Lethington was coming out, and Bothwell with him; at the which all the Lords and gentlemen mounted on horseback, till Lethington came to him demanding [of] him the letter, which he delivered. Then Bothwell and he returned to the Queen, and stayed there within half an hour, the whole troop of Lords and gentlemen still on horseback attending for his coming. Lethington seemed willing to have passed by the Provost without any speech; but he pressed towards him and asked him if the Queen's Majesty had perused the letter, and what service it would please her Majesty to command him back again.

He answered that as yet the Queen was sleeping, and therefore had not delivered the letter, and thought that there would not be any meet time for it till after the assize, wherefore he willed him to attend, so giving place to the [throng] of people that passed, which was great; and by the estimation of men of good judgment above 4,000 gentlemen besides others. The

Earl Bothwell passed with a merry and lusty cheer, attended on with all the soldiers, being 200, all harquebusiers, to the Tolbooth, and there kept the door, that none might enter but such as were more for the behoof of the one side than the other.

The assize began between ten and eleven, and ended at seven in the afternoon. The Earl of Argyll and Huntly were chief judges ; what particularly was done or said there I cannot yet learn, more than that there were two advocates, called Crawford and Cunningham, for the Earl of Lennox, who accused the Earl Bothwell for the murder of the King, alleging certain documents for the same, and desiring forty days' term longer, for the more perfect and readier collection of his proofs.

Two years previously, when Bothwell had returned unbidden to Scotland, vowing vengeance against the Queen's half-brother, Murray is said to have told Mary that either he or Bothwell must leave the country. He may have remembered this as he said good-bye to Mary two days before the mock trial, only too anxious to escape for a time from the whole wretched business. Mary is said by Drury to have "wept at his departure, wishing he were not so precise in religion."[1] No doubt he realised that Bothwell was riding rough-shod to a triumph which might very easily enable him to pay off old scores with a vengeance ; and he was well aware of the rumours already afloat concerning the inner meaning of Bothwell's approaching divorce, though he affected to discredit them in the conversation now reported by Guzman :

GUZMAN DE SILVA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

London, *April* 21, 1567.

. . . The Earl of Murray arrived here on the 16th instant, and was with the Queen for a long time the next day, but I have not been able to learn what passed. It is announced that he will go by Germany

[1] Foreign Calendar, Vol. VIII., p. 229.

to Genoa, or else by way of France, where some people think he will remain, either openly or hidden, in which case there will be no lack of places where he can stay, as he is a heretic. He came to my house the day before yesterday, and said that the alliance between his Queen and your Majesty, and her obligation to you, had caused him to visit me. He has licence from his Queen to travel in Italy, and see Milan and Venice. He thought of going by way of France, and would have gone through Flanders if it had been in a more quiet condition. The ostensible reason of his journey was his desire to see the countries mentioned, but he said it was really because, as the Earl of Bothwell, who had always been his enemy, was in so powerful a position, he feared something unpleasant might befall him [Murray], particularly as Bothwell had over 4,000 men at his disposal, besides the force in Edinburgh and Dunbar, where he says the whole of the artillery and ammunitions are. He said he did not intend to return until the Queen had punished the persons concerned in her husband's death, as he thought it was unworthy of his position to remain in a country where so strange and extraordinary a crime went unpunished. He believes that the truth might certainly be ascertained if due diligence were shown, as it is undoubted that over 30 or 40 persons were concerned, and the house where the King was killed was entirely undermined, which could not be done by one man. Although he did not name any particular person, it was easy to understand by his discourse that he considers Bothwell to be guilty.

I asked him if the statement about the divorce between Bothwell and his wife was true, and he said it was. As he tells the story it appears to be a somewhat novel sort of divorce, as it is on the petition of the wife. They had been married hardly a year and a half, and she alleges in her petition that her husband had committed adultery. I asked him whether there had been any ill-treatment or quarrels

to account for the divorce, to which he replied that there had been none, but that the wife had taken proceedings at the instance of her brother, the Earl of Huntly, who, to curry favour with Bothwell, had persuaded her to do so, and at Bothwell's request the Earl was to be restored to his position in the Parliament, which is to be held on the 14th instant, although this Queen had assured me that it would not be assembled. Murray told me he had heard here that the divorce would be effected in order that the Queen might marry Bothwell, but he did not believe it, considering the Queen's position and her great virtue, as well as the events which have taken place. It really seems improbable, she being a Catholic as she is, and the divorce for such a reason as that alleged, being only as regards co-habitation, which lawyers call a divorce "*de thoro*," and neither party being free to marry again during the life of the other. I asked him if it was the same in his religion, and he said it was, but the French Ambassador is certain that if the divorce is effected, the Queen will marry him [Bothwell], and the French Ambassador in Scotland has written that the Parliament will be held.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 14th instant that this Queen had told me that she had written at the request of the Earl of Lennox to the Queen of Scotland, asking her to extend the time fixed for the trial of the allegations against the Earl of Bothwell in the murder of the King, as it was too short to prove so important a business. Her request, however, was not granted, and this Queen has received news that the trial took place on the day appointed, namely the 12th, and no accuser or witness appeared against the Earl, who was acquitted by the majority of the judges, who were ordered by the Queen to declare their judgment, but the rest of them would not vote, as they considered the trial was not free, the Earl of Bothwell having large forces with him, and Lennox being ordered not to bring more than six horsemen. . . . When Bothwell had been acquitted he had placards

posted saying, that now that he had been absolved by the law, any person who said he had been concerned in the King's death would have to meet him in combat, and should be taught the truth.

Guzman's account of the trial is not quite accurate. Bothwell was unanimously acquitted "after long reasoning" of the charge, the jury, to quote from the official report, "protesting that no evidence in its support had been brought by the pursuer." Five days later Parliament confirmed this verdict by securing the castle of Dunbar to him "for his great and manifold service." Huntly was also formally restored to his title and estates. So, too, was Morton, while valuable grants of land were made to Sir Richard Maitland, Lethington's father, and the tenures of Murray were ratified, though both these last-named statesmen were absent from the proceedings. Another statute was passed by which the Reformed Church was formally recognised and practically established. This sop to the Protestants did not succeed in lulling the growing storm of popular indignation against both Bothwell and the Queen, as rumours of their intended marriage circulated far and wide. Ugly happenings in Edinburgh were reported by Drury to Cecil: "The man that walked up and down the streets in the night with the cry of vengeance for the murder is now apprehended, and shut up in a prison which they call for the loathsomeness of the place the 'foul thief's pit.' A servant of James Balfour, parson of Flyske (who was at the murder of the King), was secretly killed, and in like manner buried, supposed upon very lively presumptions for utterance of some matter either by remorse of conscience or other folly that might tend to the whole discovery of the King's death."[1]

On the night of "the cleansing of Bothwell" in Parliament that devil-may-care scoundrel gave his famous supper party in Ainslie's tavern, at which he persuaded many of the leading nobles—or compelled them, as some of the signa-

[1] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 211. The man's cry was previously reported by Drury to have been in the following terms: "Vengeance on those who caused me to shed innocent blood. Lord open the heavens and pour down vengeance on me and those that have destroyed the innocent."

tories afterwards declared, by the threat of his Border ruffians, who surrounded the house—to sign a band promising faithfully to "take plain and upright part with him" against his accusers, and "to further, advance, and set forward the marriage to be solemnised and completed betwixt her Highness and the said noble Lord."[1]

It was on the following day that Kirkcaldy of Grange—"the second Wallace of Scotland," if we are to believe his admirers, but by no means the open-hearted hero of historical tradition, according to Andrew Lang—wrote the letter frequently quoted as proof of Mary's mad infatuation for Bothwell at this period. She was so "shamefully enamoured of Bothwell," he wrote, "that she had been heard to say she cared not to lose France, England, and her country for him, and will go with him to the world's end in a white petticoat rather than leave him. Yea, she is so past all shame that she hath caused make an Act of Parliament against all that set up any writing that speaks anything of him. Whatever is unhonest reigns presently at Court."[2]

Nor had Kirkcaldy any doubt in his own mind as to Mary's own share in the plot. At midnight preceding the day of her abduction by Bothwell, not many miles from Edinburgh on the Linlithgow Road, the Laird of Grange sent Bedford a note which proved a remarkably well-informed anticipation of events. Mary had ridden to Stirling on the previous Monday [the 21st] to see the Prince, then ten months old. It is impossible to say with any certainty what happened at

[1] A copy of the band was given to Cecil at the time of the Westminster Commission in 1568, by a clerk of George Buchanan named John Read, who supplied the list of signatories from memory. The list is headed by the name of Murray, who, however, had left Scotland before this mysterious supper-party took place. It has been suggested that he may have signed the band before his departure, but Mary's confessor told Guzman on his way to France that Murray did not sign. Guzman mentions this in his letter to Philip of July 26 (Spanish Calendar, Vol. I., p. 662). Cecil wrote down the list of signatures as follows: Earls Murray, Argyll, Huntly, Cassilis, Morton, Sutherland, Rothes, Glencairn, Caithness—Eglinton subscribed not, but slipped away; Lords Boyd, Seton, Sinclair, Sempill, Oliphant, Ogilvy, Ross of Halkhead, Carlyle, Herries, Gray, Hume, Innermeath. The disputed question as to the authentic copy of this band, and the different lists of signatures, is discussed at length by Dr. Hay Fleming and Mr. Bain in the *Genealogist*, 1900-1.

[2] Tytler's "History of Scotland," Vol. V., p. 403; and Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 212.

Stirling; whether Mary wrote any letter to Bothwell thence, or whether anything occurred to warrant Kirkcaldy's belief that she meant to take the child out of Mar's safe keeping and place him in Bothwell's charge—though Sir William Drury told Cecil on the 27th that "the Queen and Bothwell intended to compass it, howbeit the Earl of Mar would not suffer it to have effect;"[1] or what possible foundation there could be for Drury's melodramatic report a month later that her intention had been to poison the toothless Prince with an apple: "She offered him an apple, but it would not be received of him, and to a greyhound having whelps was thrown, who ate it, and she and her whelps died presently. A sugar loaf also for the Prince was brought at the same time: it is judged to be very evil compounded."[2]

Though a Lennox memorandum, quoted by Andrew Lang, also asserts that Mary went to Stirling to poison her son, the whole story is too absurd to be worth quoting, except perhaps as an example of the wild rumours so recklessly circulated, and so greedily devoured, in those barbaric days. It was precisely nine years since her marriage with the Dauphin that the Queen was captured on the return journey from Stirling by Bothwell. Kirkcaldy's prophetic letter, though in his handwriting, possesses neither signature nor address:

KIRKCALDY OF GRANGE TO THE EARL OF BEDFORD.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

This is to advertise you that Bothwell's wife is going to part with her husband, and great part of our Lords have subscribed the marriage betwixt the Queen and him. The Queen rode to Stirling this last Monday, [21st] and returns this Thursday. I doubt not but ye have heard Bothwell has gathered many of his friends, some say to ride in Liddesdale—but I believe it not, for he is minded to meet the Queen this day, called Thursday, and to take her by the way, and bring her to Dunbar. Judge ye if it be with her will or no! But you will hear at more length on Friday

[1] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 216.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 235.

or Saturday, if you will find it good that I continue in writing as occasion serves. I would you tear this, after the reading. The bearer knows nothing of the matter. By him that is yours that took you by the hand. At midnight.

This brings us to the three remaining letters in the Casket Collection, for which, if genuine, an approximate date and guilty meaning may be found. These are the letters known as Nos. 6, 7, and 8, which wholly, or in part, may have been written from Stirling at this period, and are regarded by those who believe in them as irrefutable evidence that Mary was herself the prime mover in her capture—"proving her mask of ravishing," as the contemporary endorsement has it on the copy corrected by Cecil. The other three letters, Nos. 3, 4, and 5, are not in themselves incriminating, and for the present need not be taken into account. The first of what may be called the Stirling series is now modernised from the English translation at Hatfield:

"LETTER VI."

[Hatfield Manuscripts, Historical MSS. Commission.]

Alas, my Lord, why is your trust put in a person so unworthy, to mistrust that which is wholly yours! I am wood [furious]. You had promised me that you would resolve all, and that you would send me word every day what I should do. You have done nothing thereof. I advertised you well to take heed of your false brother-in-law. He came to me, and without showing me anything from you, told me that you had willed him to write to you that which I should say, and where and when you should come to me, and that which you should do touching him. And thereupon hath preached unto me that it was a foolish enterprise, and that with mine honour I could never marry you, seeing that being married you did carry me away. And that his folk would not suffer it. And that the Lords would unsay themselves, and would deny what they had said. To be short, he is all contrary. I told him that, seeing I was come so far,

if you did not withdraw yourself of yourself, that no persuasion, nor death itself, should make me fail of my promise. As touching the place, you are too negligent (pardon me) to remit yourself thereof unto me. Choose it yourself, and send me word of it. And in the meantime I am sick. I will defer, as touching the matter it is too late. It was not long of me that you have not thought thereon in time. And if you had not more changed your mind since mine absence than I have, you should not be now to ask such resolving. Well there wanteth nothing of my part. And seeing that your negligence doth put us both in the danger of a false brother, if it succeed not well, I will never rise again. I send this bearer unto you, for I dare not trust your brother with these letters, nor with the diligence. He shall tell you in what state I am, and judge you what amendment these new ceremonies have brought unto me. I would I were dead. For I see all goeth ill. You promised other manner of matter of your forseeing, but absence hath power over you, who have two strings to your bow. Dispatch the answer that I fail not. And put no trust in your brother for this enterprise. For he hath told it, and is also all against it. God give you good night.

This letter seems to imply that Mary and Bothwell had not completed their plan for her capture before she left for Stirling, while Bothwell proceeded with his Borderers to Liddisdale, just as Letter I., if genuine, left the destination of Darnley still uncertain while Mary was planning their departure from Glasgow. Huntly, Bothwell's "false brother-in-law," as the letter calls him, may have objected to this headlong manner of marriage, but it must not be forgotten that he had signed the Ainslie Band to promote the match, and also that the alleged contract of marriage found among the Casket documents, and dated April 5—before Bothwell had been acquitted of the murder of Darnley—bears his signature as witness, and is, indeed, said to have been drawn up with his own hand. The sentence, "and the

Lords would unsay themselves and deny what they had said," is assumed to be a reference to their agreement to the Ainslie Band. In the next letter—here Anglicised from the Scots, there being no official English text—Mary appears reconciled to Huntly:

"LETTER VII."

[Goodall's "*Examination.*"]

Of the place and the time I remit myself to your brother and to you. I will follow him, and will fail in nothing of my part. He findeth many difficulties: I think he doth advertise you thereof, and what he desireth for the handling of himself. As for the handling of myself, I heard it once well devised.

Methinks that your services, and the long amity, having the good will of the Lords, do well deserve a pardon, if above the duty of a subject you advance yourself, not to constrain me, but to assure yourself of such place near unto me, that other admonitions or foreign persuasions may not let me from consenting to that which you hope your service shall make you one day to attain. And to be short, to make yourself sure of the Lords, and free to marry; and that you are constrained for your surety, and to be able to serve me faithfully, to use an humble request, joined to an importunate action.

And to be short, excuse yourself, and persuade them the most you can, that you are constrained to make pursuit against your enemies. You shall say enough, if the matter or ground do like you; and many fair words to Lethington. If you like not the deed, send me word, and leave not the blame of all unto me.

The next is the last of the Stirling series, and, if genuine, is the only evidence we possess that the Earl of Sutherland was present on that occasion. It is also difficult to explain the meaning of the words "your brother-in-law that was," seeing that the Bothwell divorce was not before the Courts until the following month:

"LETTER VIII."

[Goodall's "*Examination*."]

My Lord, since my letter written, your brother-in-law that was, came to me very sad, and hath asked me my counsel, what he should do after to-morrow, because there be many folks here, and among others the Earl of Sutherland, who would rather die, considering the good they have so lately received of me, than suffer me to be carried away, they conducting me; and that he feared there should some trouble happen of it; of the other side, that it should be said that he were unthankful to have betrayed me. I told him that he should have resolved with you upon all that, and that he should avoid, if he could, they that were most mistrusted.

He hath resolved to write thereof to you by my opinion; for he hath abashed me to see him so unresolved at the need. I assure myself he will play the part of an honest man; but I have thought good to advertise you of the fear he hath that he should be charged and accused of treason, to the end that, without mistrusting him, you may be the more circumspect, and that you may have the more power. For we had yesterday more than three hundred horse of his and of Livingstone's. For the honour of God, be accompanied rather with more than less; for that is the principal of my care.

I go to write my dispatch, and pray God to send us a happy interview shortly. I write in haste, to the end you may be advised in time.

Leaving these debatable documents for the actual abduction, it only remains to add that Kirkcaldy's prediction was fulfilled to the letter. While Mary, attended by Huntly, Melville, and Lethington, with an escort of insignificant strength, was riding to Edinburgh from Linlithgow, she was confronted at some disputed spot by Bothwell with an overwhelming force of horsemen, and carried to Dunbar Castle. Huntly, Lethington, and Melville were taken with her. Exactly what happened, both at the capture and

afterwards at Dunbar, we have no means of knowing. Nau, Mary's private secretary, declares that when the Queen complained of this treatment, she was reminded that she was in one of her own houses, that she was perfectly free to exercise her lawful authority there, and that she was surrounded by her own domestics. "Practically, however," he adds, "all happened very differently, for the greater part of her train was removed, nor had she full liberty until she had consented to the marriage." In her message to the French Court by the Bishop of Dunblane in the following month, the Queen implied that Bothwell obtained this consent by force;[1] and in his "Memoirs," Sir James Melville, who was released from Dunbar on the day following the capture, wrote that Bothwell boasted that he meant to marry her, "whether she would herself or not." The Queen, indeed, according to the same authority, could not but consent, "seeing he had ravished her and lain with her against her will." On the other hand, Melville admitted that Captain Blackater—afterwards hanged as one of Darnley's murderers, though he died denying his guilt—whispered as he took him prisoner that "it was with the Queen's own consent." Drury also assured Cecil a few days after the event that "the manner of Bothwell's meeting with the Queen, although it appeared to be forcibly, yet is known to be otherwise."[2] Kirkcaldy held the same view:

KIRKCALDY OF GRANGE TO THE EARL OF BEDFORD.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

April 26, 1567.

This Queen will never cease till she has wrecked all the honest men of this realm. She was minded to cause Bothwell to ravish her, to the end that she may the sooner end the marriage, which she promised before she caused murder her husband. Many would revenge it, but they fear your mistress. I am so suited to for to enterprise the revenge, that I must either take it in hand, or leave the country, which I am determined to do, if I get licence; but Bothwell

[1] Labanoff, Vol. II., p. 41.
[2] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 217.

minds to cut me off ere I obtain it, and has returned from Stirling to Edinburgh. She minds hereafter to take the Prince out of Mar's hands, and put him in his that murdered his father, as I wrote in my last. I pray you let me know what your mistress will do, for if we seek France, we may find favour ; but I would rather persuade to lean to England.

The most graphic account of the abduction was written by Guzman, in reporting the affair to Philip II. from London. According to this account, Bothwell met Mary with 400 horsemen [Nau says 1,500] six miles from Edinburgh :

As they arrived near the Queen with their swords drawn they showed an intention of taking her with them, whereupon some of those who were with her were about to defend her, but the Queen stopped them, saying she was ready to go with the Earl of Bothwell wherever he wished rather than bloodshed and death should result. She was taken to Dunbar, where she arrived at midnight and still remains. Some say she will marry him, and they are so informed direct by some of the highest men in the country who follow Bothwell. They are convinced of this both because of the favour the Queen has shown him and because he has the national forces in his hands. Although the Queen sent secretly to the governor of the town of Dunbar to sally out with his troops and release her, it is believed that the whole thing has been arranged so that if anything comes of the marriage the Queen may make out that she was forced into it. This Queen [Elizabeth] is greatly scandalised at the business and related it to me. I also heard it from Cecil and from the man who brought the news, who is a good Catholic and an intimate acquaintance of mine.[1]

The world at large—ever more prone to believe evil than good—professed to be scandalised even more than did

[1] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., pp. 638-9.

Elizabeth. Not all Mary's own subjects, however, were yet willing to forsake her. Aberdeen at least proved its loyalty in a letter which may, or may not, have reached its destination. It is here quoted from the collection of papers relating to the history of Mary Stuart, privately printed by W. S. Fitch at Ipswich about 1842 with "Maitland's Narrative of the Principal Acts of the Regency," and now extremely rare:

ABERDEEN TO MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

["*Maitland's Narrative and other Papers.*"]

April 27, 1567.

Please your Majesty,

It is bruited and spoken in the country that your Majesty should be ravished by the Earl Bothwell against your will. We, your Majesty's nobility and subjects, think ourselves most highly offended if so be, and therefore desire to know your Highness's pleasure and will—what we shall do toward the reparation of that matter, and in what manner we shall use ourselves; which being known, there shall nothing be left undone that becomes faithful and loving subjects to do to the advancement and fulfilling of their Prince's honour and affairs. We will look to be certified of your Grace's mind, by the bearer hereof. And so after our humble commendations we commit your Majesty to God. From Aberdeen, the 27th of April, 1567.

Whether any reply was sent to this letter is unknown. Many would-be supporters of Mary fell away when the significant news became known of the approaching double process of divorce between the Earl and Lady Bothwell. Everyone, not unnaturally, suspected them of collusion, in order that the Queen might marry her captor. The case was hurried through both the Protestant and the Catholic Courts, and by May 7 Bothwell and his accommodating wife were free again, the Protestants granting the wife's petition on the ground of the Earl's admitted adultery with a maid-servant, and the Catholics, the husband's plea on the ground that the

marriage had always been null for lack of a dispensation; though this, in point of fact, is known to have existed. On the eve of this last decision—though "Cecil's Diary" gives it as May 3—Bothwell and Mary entered Edinburgh in State, the said Earl, according to the "Diurnal of Occurrents," "leading the Queen's Majesty by the bridle as captive." Writing on the following day, Sir James Melville's brother mentions that it was to Edinburgh that Mary had sent in vain for help when first carried to Dunbar. If Mary looked for help now it was not forthcoming:

ROBERT MELVILLE TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

May 7, 1567.

Since the Earl Bothwell carried the Queen violently to Dunbar, where she is judged to be detained without her own liberty, divers noblemen and the most part of the subjects of the realm are miscontent and will not bear with it. They have convened at Stirling, Argyll, Atholl, Morton, and Mar, with the young Earl of Montrose, the Laird of Tullibardine controller, having the minds of most part of the nobility; and after first agreeing Argyll and Atholl, and Argyll and Tullibardine, made a band amongst them to pursue the Queen's liberty, preserve the Prince from his enemies, in Mar's keeping, and purge the realm of the detestable murder of our King; whereof, from his presumptuous detaining the Queen against her will, pressing her to marriage, suit to have the Prince in keeping, and the principal strengths of the country, makes all men judge him the principal author. As I have learned, these Lords will nowise think her at liberty so long as she is in the said Earl's company, albeit he may persuade her Majesty to say otherwise.

When she was first carried to Dunbar, the Earl of Huntly and Lethington were taken as prisoners, and my brother James with other domestic servants. Her Majesty commanded some of her company to pass to Edinburgh, and charge the town to be in armour for her rescue, which they incontinently obeyed, and

passed without their ports upon foot, but could not help—which shame done by a subject to our Sovereign offends the whole realm. I understand the nobility mind to suit assistance of your mistress, considering that the King who is with God, as also the Queen and the Prince, her son, are so near of blood to her Highness. This far I will make your honour privy of: that France has offered to enter in band with the nobility of the realm, and to list the company of men-of-arms, and to give divers pensions to the nobles and gentlemen. Which some did like well of, but the honest sort have brought the rest to the effect they will do nothing to offend your Sovereign, without the fault be in her Majesty. Both Papist and Protestant join earnestly for the weal of their country. The Lords have gone to their countries to assemble their friends.

Bothwell has brought the Queen to Edinburgh and required Master John Craig to proclaim their banns to be married; which he has refused, answering he might not be her lawful husband. It is judged he will end the marriage and go to Stirling to have the Prince by force, but Mar is victualling the Castle, and will not deliver him. I understand your Sovereign wrote to mine with good advice, which was over sharply answered. Your honour will excuse it and esteem it rather the counsel of those about her than of herself; for you have experience that her Majesty behaved herself more moderately when with her own wise Council. I trust you will receive my letter, for being in the country, I do not know if my Sovereign would allow of it. From my heart I wish her honour and prosperity, and to your honour a long and happy life.

Dauntless John Craig, who held John Knox's charge in his absence, was the only man who dared at that time openly to defy the dare-devil swashbuckler, who now held Mary and Edinburgh, as it were, in the hollow of his hand. Craig point-blank refused to proclaim the banns without Mary's own writ. Thereupon the Queen demanded his obedience, assuring him in writing that "she was neither ravished nor

yet retained in captivity." Being thus demanded legally by both parties, Craig had perforce to yield, but did so calling heaven to witness that he abhorred and detested the approaching match. When summoned for this before the Privy Council, he brought up before Bothwell himself all the charges levelled against him of murdering Darnley, ravishing the Queen, and illegally divorcing his wife. But Bothwell, afterwards declared Craig, "answered nothing to my satisfaction."

CHAPTER VII

TWO FATAL MONTHS

Revolt of the Lords—Bothwell Created Duke of Orkney—Early Rumours of Domestic Jars—Mary and Bothwell Married—Her Misery on her Wedding Day—A Jealous Pair—Their Outward Display of Happiness—Mary Discredited Abroad—Her Excuses Rejected at the French Court—International Intrigues for the Infant Prince—English Protestant Opinion—Mary's Assurances to her Confessor—Pius V. Abandons her to her Fate—Elizabeth's Attitude—Bothwell's Letter to her—Gathering Storm in Scotland—Enmity between Bothwell and Lethington—Lethington's Escape—Mary and Bothwell at Borthwick Castle—March of the Confederate Lords—Bothwell's Escape—Carberry Hill—Bothwell's Flight and Mary's Imprisonment.

As soon as they saw whither Bothwell's high-handed proceedings were likely to lead them, most of the Protestant Lords, who were no readier than was the astute Earl of Murray to be tyrannized over by an upstart Borderer, realised that it was time to take steps for their own safety. "The Lords are again at Stirling," wrote Drury to Cecil on May 5, "and inlink themselves together. They mind, if the Queen marries Bothwell, to crown the Prince. Those that subscribed to the consent of the marriage now go from it. The Queen's answer to their message was that it was true that she had been evil and strangely handled, but since so well that she had no cause to complain, willing them to quiet themselves."[1] Eight days later the same correspondent wrote that "the Lords have sent the Queen word that unless she discharged her soldiers, and be better accompanied of the nobility, they will obey neither her writing nor commandment."[2] The situation is best described by Kirkcaldy in a letter written three days before the proclamation of the banns by Craig:

KIRKCALDY OF GRANGE TO THE EARL OF BEDFORD.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

CALLENDAR, *May* 8, 1567.

I wrote at length to your Lordship of such things as were done before the Parliament, but marvel at no

[1] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 223.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

answer. Whereas the most part of the nobility, for fear of their lives, granted sundry things against their honours and consciences, they have since convened at Stirling, and made a band to defend other in all things concerning the glory of God and the common weal. The heads are: (1) to seek the Queen's liberty, who is ravished and detained by Bothwell, and has all the strengths, munitions, and men of war at his command; (2) the preservation of the Prince; and (3) to pursue the King's murderers. To that effect they desired me to write that they may have your Sovereign's aid to suppress the cruel murderer, Bothwell, who when the Queen was last at Stirling, suborned some to poison the Prince; that barbarous tyrant wishing to cut him off for fear of after punishment.

The Lords at Stirling were Argyll, Morton, Atholl, and Mar; and by me request a direct answer, and that with haste. For they are presently suited to by M. du Croc, who offers his master's aid to suppress Bothwell and his faction; and also declares to the Queen that he has learned by the French Ambassador at London, that the ships the Queen is preparing (as the bruit is) for Ireland, are to come here to punish the King's murderers. He also admonishes her to desist from Bothwell, and not to marry him: for if she do so she shall have neither friendship nor favour from France. But he says she will give no care, so he offers to go to Stirling and stay with them in the Prince's company in the King of France's name. But I have persuaded the Lords to give him a deferring answer till I hear from you. He offered me also largely if I would travel with them for his master.

There is to be joined with these four Lords the Earls of Glencairn, Cassilis, Eglinton, Montrose, and Caithness, the Lords Boyd, Ochiltree, Ruthven, Drummond, Gray, Glammis, Ennermeth, Lindsay, Hume, and Herries, with all the west, Merse and Teviotdale, the most part of Fife, Angus, and the

Mearns. For this Argyll is ridden to the west, Atholl to the north, Morton to Fife, Angus, and Mearns, and Mar remains with the Prince. Their chief reason for your support is to get Bothwell out of Dunbar or Edinburgh, not for fear of him in the field—but besides these two strengths, he has all the munition. The Queen and he are in Edinburgh Castle, and she minds to levy 500 foot and 200 horse. For this she has 5,000 crowns coined from the font your Lordship brought to the baptism—the rest is to be reft and borrowed of Edinburgh and the men of Lothian. In my last packet I sent your Lordship two answers to Bothwell's cartel. I enclose the third, with the gentleman's name who offers the combat. It will please you to haste these other letters to my Lord of Murray, and write to him to come back into Normandy, to be in readiness when my Lords write. . . .

James Murray, brother german to the Laird of Tullibardine, seeing that Bothwell has passed over two former answers to his cartel, offers to prove the King's murder on him as the chief. And if the Earl dares not fight, Murray and five other gentlemen offer to prove on the Black Laird of Ormiston, the Laird of Beynston, John Hepburn of Bowton, the young Laird of Tala, James Cullen, and James Edmonston, that they were in his company at the murder.

Meantime Mary was rushing headlong to her doom. On Sunday, May 12, she created Bothwell Duke of Orkney, placing the coronet on his head with her own hands, according to the "Diurnal of Occurrents." Already, however, there were signs of grievous trouble between them, if Drury may be believed. Bothwell, he said, was the most jealous man alive, and it was believed that they would not long agree after the marriage. "He is offended for a horse which she gave to the Lord of Arbroath," while she "much misliked" the fact that the Lady Bothwell remained at Creighton Castle.[1]

[1] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 229.

Photo T. & R. Annan & Sons.

LORD JAMES STUART, EARL OF MURRAY.

From the picture in Holyrood.

Three days later (Thursday, May 15) the Protestant Bishop of Orkney—the same Bishop who subsequently became one of her official accusers—married Mary to the newly-created Duke in the Old Chapel of Holyrood, according to the rites of the Reformed Church. Mary, as on the occasion of her wedding with Darnley—less than two years before in the same palace—was dressed in deep mourning. "There have already been some jars between the Queen and the Duke," wrote Drury to Cecil four days later. "The Bishop of Orkney in his sermon declared the penitence of the Earl of Bothwell for his past life, confessing himself to have been an evil liver. The opinion of divers is that the Queen is the most changed woman of face that in so little time without extremity of sickness they have seen. She was married in mourning weed, but now has shaken it off. She openly in the Tolbooth, before the marriage, declared that she had forgiven her being taken upon the way, and was since well used."[1] Drury was far from being alone in his reports of Mary's hours of disillusionment both before and after her marriage. M. du Croc, the French Ambassador, who declined to attend the ceremony, found her miserable on the wedding day itself, and wishing for nothing but death:

M. DU CROC TO CATHERINE DE' MEDICI.

[Strickland's "*Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots.*"]

May 16, 1567.

Madame,

The letters that I have written to your Majesty, by the Bishop of Dunblane,[2] are merely to be read; you can suppose that I did not entrust to him what I would write to you. Your Majesties cannot do better than to make him very bad cheer, and find all amiss in this marriage, for it is very wretched, and it is already repented of. On Friday her Majesty [Queen Mary] sent for me. When I came, I perceived an estranged demeanour between her and her husband; for this she wished me to excuse her, saying that if I

[1] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., pp. 234–5.

[2] The Bishop had been sent to announce to the Queen Mother and Charles IX. the nuptials of Mary and Bothwell.

saw her sad, it was because she could not rejoice, for she did nothing but wish for death.

Yesterday [her wedding day], being shut up in her cabinet with Bothwell, she screamed aloud, and then sought for a knife to stab herself.[1] Those who were in the chamber adjoining the cabinet heard her. They think that if God does not aid her, she will become desperate. I have counselled and comforted her the best I could, these three times I have seen her.

Her husband will not remain so long, for he is too much hated in this realm, as he is always considered guilty of the death of the King. There is here, besides the Earl of Bothwell, but one noble of note, this is the Earl of Crawford: the others are sent for, but will not come.

She has summoned them to meet, in a place she has named. If they convene, I am to speak to them in the name of the King [of France], and see if I can do aught with them. After saying all that it is possible for me to say, it will be better to withdraw myself, and as I have sent word to you, leave them to play out their game. It is not fitting that I sit there among them [the Lords] in the name of the King [of France]. For if I lean to the Queen, they will think in this realm, and in England, that my King has a hand in all that is done; while, if it had not been for the express commands your Majesty laid on me, I had departed hence eight days before this marriage took place. If I have spoken in a very high tone, it is that all this realm may be aware that I will neither mix myself up with these nuptials, nor will I recognise *him* [Bothwell] as husband of the Queen. I believe he will write to you by the Bishop of Dunblane; you ought not to answer him.

I remain, your Majesty's, etc.

Du Croc's letter may be accepted either as proof of her unwillingness to marry the man for love of whom she is supposed by her accusers to have bartered her soul; or

[1] Sir James Melville, in his "Memoirs," refers to the same incident.

merely as so much evidence of the dangerous jealousies which are said to have existed both on her own side and that of her husband. Bothwell, as we have already seen, was counted "the most jealous man alive"; and Melville tells us in his "Memoirs" that "he was so beastly and suspicious that he suffered her not to pass over a day in patience . . . making her cause to shed abundance of salt tears." Lethington told a similar tale to Du Croc, assuring that Ambassador "that from the day of the marriage there had been no end of Mary's tears and lamentations; for Bothwell would not allow her to look at, or be looked on by anybody, for he knew very well that she loved her pleasure and passed her time like any other devoted to the world."[1]

Mary, on her part, had good ground for jealousy, especially if there was any truth in Guzman's report to Philip in the following month: "They say for certain that differences have arisen already between Bothwell and the Queen (an evil conscience can know no peace), and it is asserted that Bothwell passes some days a week with the wife he had divorced."[2]

Outwardly, however, the tragic pair braved the world for a time with a display of harmony and careless spirits. Before the end of the month a "triumph" on the water was held before the Queen, at the which the new Duke of Orkney ran at the ring; but, remarked Drury significantly, in communicating this item of news to Cecil on May 25, the soldiers "still march when the Queen goes anywhere abroad. . . . The Queen uses often with the Duke to ride abroad, and they now make outward show of great content, but the company at Court increases of not of one nobleman more than were at the marriage."[3] Two days afterwards he added: "The Duke openly uses great reverence to the Queen, ordinarily bareheaded, which she seems she would have otherwise, and will sometimes take his cap and put it on."[4] On the day on which Drury wrote this to Cecil, Mary sent her letters to Archbishop Beaton in Paris in justification of her marriage:

[1] F. Von Raumer's "Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots," p. 102.
[2] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 648.
[3] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 237.
[4] *Ibid.*

MARY STUART TO ARCHBISHOP BEATON.

[Stevenson's "*Illustrations.*"]

EDINBURGH, *May* 27, 1567.

Most reverend father in God and trusty counsellor, we greet you well. We have presently directed the Bishop of Dunblane toward the King, the Queen Mother, our uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine, and others, our friends there, amply instructed to make them declaration and report of our present state and proceedings since our last writing to you from Stirling. The event indeed is strange and otherwise than, we know, you would have looked for; but as it is succeeded we must take the best of it, and so, for our respect, must all that love us, of which we have ever thought and yet do specially esteem you. For we think to give you no other occasion while we live, and on your part we look for no alteration. Because we are assured that this is not your first advertisement, but that you are informed and have heard generally of the success and proceeding of the matter, we will not be prolix in writing; and the rather by reason in our instruction to the Bishop of Dunblane we have made full discourse of the very truth of the matter, and have willed him, before he seek presence, or make any report of his message, that he make you privy and participant of his said instruction, and follow your advice and counsel in the handling thereof in all behalf. Praying you therefore earnestly and effectually—as you have ever in times past shown your diligence and integrity in the procuring and advancement of all matters that have occurred to our pleasure, commodity, and commendation, as well since we have particularly employed you in our affairs as of before only upon the favour you bare us, so now in this case, being no less weighty but rather of greater consequence nor any matter that ever we had in hand—that you bestow your study, ingenuity, and effectual labours in the ordering of this present message, and in the persuading them to whom it is directed to believe that thing therein which is the very truth,

according as we have mentioned the same sincerely from the very beginning in our said instruction, a great part of the circumstance whereof is as well known to yourself as to any man living. The matter is such as we would wish it well, and so forbear presently to mix it with any other purpose, but remitting to new occasion and trusting and reposing ourself chiefly upon your dexterity and faithful travail, whereof we doubt not, commit you to God.

The Queen added a postscript in French in her own hand, praying Beaton to guide and assist the Bishop of Dunblane in his negotiations, and to trust him as herself, because, she added, she had charged him to convey her wishes in all her affairs. Mary's best friends, however, were dumbfounded by this news of her fatal matrimonial step; and those whose friendship was merely diplomatic abandoned her to her fate. It was in vain that the Bishop of Dunblane appeared with her *apologia* at the Court of France, based on the grounds that she had acted for the best; that the state of her country had demanded her marriage; that although Bothwell had certainly used her somewhat roughly, he had since atoned for his offence; and that her own nobles had singled him out as her most suitable husband.[1] Like the rest of Europe, the French Court declined to accept Mary's excuses as the "very truth" of this most mysterious marriage:

The Queen of Scotland (wrote the Venetian Ambassador in Paris) has sent to their Majesties the Bishop of Dunblane, who, in a long speech, commencing with the period of the birth of the Queen of Scotland down to the present time, described how her life had always been accompanied by an inconstant and doubtful fate, whence from time to time many events of a harassing and remarkable character have befallen her; and the Bishop concluded with the remark "that even this marriage, celebrated according to the Huguenot rite, was brought about rather

[1] Mary's Instructions to the Bishop are printed in Labanoff, Vol. II., pp. 32–44.

by destiny and necessity than by her free choice." This excuse was listened to by their Majesties, who are well informed of the circumstances, but was not accepted by them upon the ground that it was wrong to attribute any results to force which were openly brought about by free will and premeditated determination.[1]

The chief anxiety of France and Spain was now not so much whether they could save Mary Stuart either from herself or the dangers which surrounded her, but whether they could safeguard their own rival interests by means of the infant Prince. Hence the diplomatic tussle for the possession of the future James VI., in which Elizabeth already found herself involved, though much against her will. Rather than that France should capture the prize, and resume her old, threatening power in Scotland, Guzman was ready to agree that the Prince should be handed over to England:

GUZMAN DE SILVA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *May* 24, 1567.

Cecil sends to say that the Queen of Scots married the Earl of Bothwell on the 15th instant at four o'clock in the morning, having created him the Duke of Orkney three days before, and this news was confirmed by Leicester who came to see me yesterday. There were only three persons of rank at the arrangement of the marriage, and one only at the ceremony. . . . The information comes from many quarters, and is undoubted. It seems to have scandalised people here very much, and has caused sorrow to many who see the evils it will bring in its train. It seems the Scottish nobles are still against the match, although now that the thing is done they may come round to it.

There is a talk of delivering the Prince of Scotland to this Queen to be brought up by his grandmother,

[1] Venetian Calendar, Vol. VII., pp. 396–7.

who sent to me a few days since to say, that as she heard the Earl of Leicester was coming to consult me as to the advisability of this Queen's receiving the child here, the subject having been discussed in the Council, she begged me to advise that it should be done. Lord Robert came, but did not ask for my advice direct, although he introduced the subject in a way that compelled me to give it, and I therefore told him they should make every effort to get the child here, because if it was desirable that he should inherit the Crown, they could have him in their own hands, and thus keep in check other claimants in this country, while if he were not to succeed they could put him into a safe place, so that in no case would any harm come to them from it. I said it was meet that the Queen should act promptly about it, as it was notorious that the French were endeavouring to get the child. I do not know whether the French will be more artful than they, but they are trying their hardest. It is said here that the cause of the Queen of Scotland's hurry over this marriage is that she is pregnant, and the matter was arranged between them some time ago.

English Protestant opinion is reflected in an anonymous letter, written on the eve of Guzman's last communication to Philip, and found in the Earl of Morton's archives :

A LETTER FROM ENGLAND.

[Robertson's "*History of Scotland*," Vol. III.]

May 23, 1567.

Having the commodity of this bearer, Mr. Clark, I thought good to write a few words unto you. . . . This much I can assure you, the intelligence given hitherto by the French was untrue, for there was not one Papist or Protestant which did not consent that justice should be done, by the Queen my Sovereign's aid and support, against such as had committed that abominable ill murder in your country ; but to say truth, the lack and coldness did not rise from such

as were called to Council, but from such as should give life and execution thereunto. And further I assure you, I never knew no matter of estate proposed which had so many favourers of all sorts of nations as this had: yea, I can say unto you, no man promoted the matter with greater affection than the Spanish Ambassador. And sure I am that no man dare openly be of any other mind, but to affirm that whosoever is guilty of this murder, hand-fasted with adventure, is unworthy to live. I shall not need to tell you which be our lets and stays from all good things here; you are acquainted with them as well as I. Needs I must confess, that howsoever we omit occasions of benefit, honour, and surety, it behoveth your whole nobility, and namely such as before and after the murder were deemed to allow of Bothwell, to prosecute with sword and justice the punishment of those abominable acts, though we lend you but a cold aid; and albeit you, and divers others, both honourable and honest, be well known to me, and sundry others here, to be justifiable in all their actions and doings; yet think not the contrary but your whole nation is blemished and defamed by these doings which lately passed among you. What we shall do I know not, neither do I write unto you assuredly, for we be subject unto many mutations; and yet I think we shall either aid you, or continue in the defence and safeguard of your Prince, so as it appear to us that you mean his safeguard indeed, and not to run the fortune of France, which will be your own destruction if you be unadvised. I know not one, no not one of any quality or estate in this country, which does allow of the Queen your Sovereign, but would gladly the world were rid of her, so as the same were done without further slander, that is to say by ordinary justice.

Even Mary's confessor, a Dominican friar, left her, so displeased was he at her marriage. When he asked leave of the Queen to return to his native France on that account,

she swore to him—as he afterwards confided to Guzman on his way home—that her object in marrying had been to settle religion by that means:

The Queen had consulted two or three Catholic Bishops on the subject before marrying, who told her that she could do so, as Bothwell's wife was related to him in the fourth degree, but this confessor had assured her that she could not and ought not to marry him, and had discussed the matter with the said Bishops. He assures me that as regards religion the Queen is not only a good, but a very devout Catholic, and he swore to me solemnly that until the question of the marriage with Bothwell was raised he never saw a woman of greater virtue, courage, and uprightness. . . . He assured me that those who had risen against the Queen had not been moved by zeal to punish the King's murder, as they had been enemies rather than friends of his; nor in consequence of the marriage, as they had been all in favour of it, and had signed their names to that effect without exception, either lay or clerical, apart from the Earl of Murray, but their sole object had been a religious one, as they thought the Queen, being a Catholic, might settle religion in a way not to their liking.[1]

Practically all hope now vanished of furthering the old religion in Scotland by means of a Papal Nuncio. The Bishop of Mondovi, who had himself returned to Italy, realised this when he wrote to the Cardinal of Alessandria of Mary's misguided marriage:

With this last act, so dishonourable to God and to herself, the propriety of sending any sort of envoy ceases, unless, indeed, her Majesty, in order to amend her error, should, inspired by God, convert the Earl to the Catholic faith—and this would not be at all so very difficult, as I was assured in France by persons of credit who knew the man's nature—and then that

[1] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., pp. 662–3.

she should avail herself of his vigour and valour in the cause of our holy religion, and notify anew her desire of being supported by the Pope's authority for the glory of God. But of these things my desire is greater than my hope, especially as one cannot as a rule expect much from those who are swayed by their pleasures.[1]

The Pope himself, Pius V., hitherto Mary's one true friend among the ruling powers of Europe, regarded her marriage in the light of a betrayal. "With regard to the Queen of Scots, it is not his [the Pope's] intention to have any further communication with her," wrote the Cardinal of Alessandria to the Bishop of Mondovi, "unless, indeed, in times to come he shall see some better sign of her life and religion than he has witnessed in the past."[2]

As for Queen Elizabeth, she must have received the succession of startling news from Scotland with mingled feelings. What she really thought it is impossible to say. She could not but realise that Mary's disgrace in the eyes of the world meant a crushing blow to the hopes of the discontented Catholics in England, and an increase of Spanish friendliness towards herself as the French peril again began to loom on the Scottish horizon. On the other hand, she could not, would not, countenance any revolutionary tendencies so near home, while the world was in its present state of dangerous unrest. She assured Guzman that she deplored the course of events there "very much as touching the Queen's honour;" and promised both Lady Lennox, who was now at liberty, and her husband, who had been allowed to rejoin her in London, that she would help them to avenge the death of their son, though she would not take any part against the person of the Queen herself. Undoubtedly the villain of the piece in her eyes, as in those of most people, was Bothwell, England's implacable enemy, and Elizabeth would have welcomed any measures that might have brought him to justice. But the treatment of royalty was another matter altogether: and to permit the outraged subjects of Mary to attempt anything against the

[1] Father Pollen's "Papal Negotiations," pp. 393–4.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 397.

sacred person of their Queen would be to establish a precedent which she might ever afterwards regret. Elizabeth opened her mind on this subject to Randolph, who duly reported her views to Leicester. His letter, from which the following extract is taken, was printed by W. S. Fitch in his rare collection of papers relating to Mary Stuart referred to on p. 234:

. . . It pleased her Majesty to tell me this day, walking in her garden, her great misliking of that Queen's doing, which now she doth so much detest that she is ashamed of her, notwithstanding her Majesty doth not like that her subjects should by any force withstand that which they do see her bent unto; and yet doth she greatly fear, lest Bothwell having the upper hand, that he will reign again with the French, and either make away with the Prince or send him into France, which deliberation her Majesty would gladly should be stayed, but is very uncertain how it may be brought to pass. Her Majesty also told me that she had seen a writing, sent from Grange to my Lord of Bedford, despitefully written against that Queen, in such vile terms that she could not abide the hearing of it, wherein he made her worse than any common woman. She would not that any subject, what cause soever there be proceeding from the Prince, or whatsoever her life or behaviour is, that any man should discover that unto the world; and thereof so utterly misliketh of Grange's manner of writing and doing that she condemneth him for one of the worst in that realm, seeming somewhat to warn me of my familiarity with him, and willing that I should admonish him of her misliking.

That a fresh storm was brewing in Scotland was clear from the information which Guzman assiduously collected and passed on to his Spanish master. "Margaret has news," he wrote in one of his letters,[1] "that the Queen of Scotland, having sent word to the Earl of Mar that she wished to see her child, he answered that she might do so, but not the Duke of Orkney, as they call Bothwell, or any

[1] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, pp. 643–9.

of those suspected of the King's murder." Bothwell tried in vain to win Elizabeth's friendship, in a letter written while the refractory Lords at Stirling were making their final preparations for his overthrow. A shorter letter to similar effect was sent at the same time to Cecil:

BOTHWELL TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

EDINBURGH, *June* 5, 1567.

Your Majesty will please pardon me, that at this present have taken the boldness to wait upon your Highness, knowing your Majesty, through misreports of my unfriends and evil willers, at some times to have been offended with me: which as I never justly deserved, so now being called to this place, I think ever to bestow my study and credit to the entertainment and continuance of the good amity and intelligence which heretofore has stood betwixt your Highnesses. The Queen having directed her servant Robert Melville, instructed with her mind to your Majesty, I have also opened my mind to him, and willed him to make true report thereof to your Majesty, whom I beseech in that behalf to credit him. In conclusion I will thus far boldly affirm, that albeit men of greater birth and estimation might well have been preferred to this room, yet none more careful to see your two Majesties' amity and intelligence continued by all good offices, nor more affectionate to do your Highness honour and service, could have entered therein.

Two days later, realising the increasing danger of their position in Edinburgh, Mary and her husband hurried to Borthwick Castle, nearer the Border, to hasten the muster of levies ordered for the 12th, when "all noblemen, knights, esquires, gentlemen and yeomen shall meet at Muirhead Abbey, with six days' victuals, and every man to come in warlike manner."[1] Money was urgently needed. Before Mary left Edinburgh Drury reported to Cecil that she had abated some of her domestic charges, "driven thereunto by

[1] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 243.

necessity." Good store of the Queen's plate, according to the same correspondent, had been sent to the Mint to be coined; and it was then that the font—Elizabeth's golden gift at the royal baptism—was turned into pieces of three pounds Scottish. "One has come," added Drury, "who has told me that he saw the font broken; and also upon Wednesday the Queen bitterly wept, the Duke and she being together." [1]

There had been further trouble, too, between Bothwell and Lethington, the Secretary having remained with them practically up to the time of their departure from Edinburgh. His conduct from the time of his capture with Mary, and his subsequent share in her downfall, are still matters of keen debate. Lethington maintained that he stayed, at the daily risk of his life, because of the reverence and affection which he had ever borne to his Queen. There seems to be no question as to his danger. Melville relates in his "Memoirs" how, after their capture and removal to Dunbar, Bothwell would have slain Lethington in the Queen's chamber "had not her Majesty come between, and saved them." Drury's account of this affair, based on information said to have come from Lethington himself, says that it was Huntly who would have killed him but for Mary's intervention, vowing "that if a hair of Lethington's head perished she would cause him to forfeit lands, goods, and life." [2] Through the same channel the imprisoned secretary—for Drury's letter of May 2 shows that he was kept "under guard"—who managed to keep Cecil posted with inside knowledge of Mary and Bothwell's matrimonial designs, announced his intention to escape on May 6 to the Lords at Stirling. "He will come out to shoot with others, and between the marks he will ride upon a good nag to a place where both a fresh horse and company tarry for him. . . . The reason," added Drury, "why of late he was suspected to have been Bothwell's was for certain letters he was compelled to write, but immediately by a trusty messenger he advertised not to give credit to them." More than a month elapsed before Lethington made good his escape. According to Drury,

[1] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth Vol. VIII., p. 240.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 223–4.

while he feared the Duke, he remained upon good terms with the Queen, and was determined to remain at Court "unless the Lords be better comforted." Apparently the Lords began to suspect his good faith. "Lethington's friends," wrote the same industrious chronicler on May 14, "much muse at his long stay in the hands of those who would do him harm;" but it was not until June 6—the eve of the royal departure for Borthwick Castle—that he quitted the Court—"without leave-taking"—to further her best interests with the Lords, according to his own account to Throckmorton and James Melville; to betray her under a cloak of loyalty, according to Mary's subsequent belief, and the opinion of Morton and Randolph. "The Duke used some choler towards Lethington before his departure," wrote Drury, "wherewith the Queen was somewhat offended." There was no one left whom Mary could trust. The suspicion of Huntly expressed in the Casket Letters is recalled in Drury's account to Cecil at this time of the desire of Huntly, her "brother-in-law that was," to leave the Court, and depart into his own country. "The Queen denied it, saying that his desire thither was but to do as his father before had done, with many bitter words."[1]

Unhappily for Mary's hopes, the levies would not flock to her standard while she remained in Bothwell's keeping. The truth must have filled her with dismay as she waited at Borthwick Castle for the men who never came, or coming, did so, as Melville said, "with no hearts to fight in that quarrel." On the night of the 10th, or the morning of the 11th, the confederate Lords, resolving at length to put an end to Bothwell's shameful rule, marched a thousand strong to Borthwick to capture him, and, in the terms of their draft bond of May 1, to "set their Queen at liberty." My Lord Duke, wrote John Beaton in his long account of the proceedings during the next week, which he forwarded to his brother in Paris, "hearing of this enterprise, thinking well he should be in more safety in the fields than in a house, passed forth and rode away."[2] Drury says that the Lords thereupon cried out to him, "bidding him come out, traitor,

[1] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., pp. 222–4, 230, 240–5.
[2] Laing's History of Scotland, Vol. II., pp. 109–18.

murderer, and butcher, and maintain his challenge, with divers undutiful and unseemly speeches used against their Queen and Sovereign, too evil and unseemly to be told, which the poor Princess did with her speech defend, wanting other means for her revenge."[1] The Lords, on the other hand, afterwards declared that so far were they from meaning anything against the Queen in that enterprise that, "hearing that he was escaped out of the house, we insisted no further to pursue the same, it being most easy to have been taken, but came back to Edinburgh, there to consult how further we should proceed for his apprehension."[2] During the following night Mary, "in men's clothes, booted and spurred," wrote Beaton, followed Bothwell to Dunbar, "whereof no man knew save my Lord Duke and some of his servants, who met her Majesty a mile from Borthwick and conveyed her Highness to Dunbar." The best description of these momentous proceedings, with their dramatic sequel in the overthrow of Bothwell at Carberry Hill and the imprisonment of Mary in Lochleven Castle, is given by Du Croc in his long letter to the Queen Mother of France, though Nau's circumstantial narrative, and the accounts of John Beaton and Sir James Melville cannot be neglected by the close student of contemporary sources:

M. DU CROC TO CHARLES IX.

[Teulet, "*Papiers d'État*," Vol. II.]

EDINBURGH, *June* 17, 1567.

Sire,

I wrote to the Queen on Wednesday, the 11th of this month, informing her that on the previous night the Queen, your sister-in-law, being at Borthwick Castle, four leagues from this town, was besieged by ten to twelve hundred men, led by the Earl of Morton and Lord Hume; who, finding that the Duke, her husband, had escaped, and desiring to show that they were not acting against their Sovereign, retired upon this town, meeting on the way the Earl of Mar, who joined them with seven or

[1] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 248.
[2] See p. 281.

eight hundred horse. No one in the town offered any resistance, nor did those in the castle,[1] whom the Queen and the Duke believed to be absolutely loyal to them, which makes us think that the plot was a large one and well understood by those concerned in it.

The next day I offered to confer with the members of the Council, who immediately came to my lodging. They justify their rising on three grounds: the first, the liberty of the Queen, saying that while she is in the hands of the person who is holding her she will never be at peace; the second, the safety of the Prince; the third, the death of the King, for they think this nation will be the most disgraceful in the world if the truth be not made known, and such justice done as will satisfy all Princes and Princesses.

The Queen, seeing that they had withdrawn from Borthwick, escaped between the day and the night, in a manner of which the bearer will tell you, and went to Dunbar Castle, having rejoined the Duke, who was awaiting her half a league from Borthwick.

All Thursday and Friday they mustered as many men as they could, and on Saturday moved to Haddington, four leagues from Dunbar, where it was thought they would stay. However, in order to lose no time they marched two leagues farther, halting at Seton. The Lords, being informed of this, and fearing that the Queen or the Duke would appear before Edinburgh Castle, which had promised to stand firm if they could muster men, marched out on Sunday at two o'clock in the morning, in order to give battle. The Queen and Bothwell moved at the same hour, so that they might be beforehand in finding a vantage ground. When they were discovered by the Lords there was a distance of half a league between them, and both armies halted facing each other, separated by a running brook.

I nearly left with the Lords, but as that would have

[1] The castle was surrendered to the Lords by Sir James Balfour, "a very traitor," as Du Croc called him.

looked as if I supported them, I allowed them to go on for three hours, and then followed them with ten horse, coming up to them on the border of the stream. They affected to be very glad to see me. I explained the difficulty of my position and spoke of your Majesty's displeasure when the news of this wretched day should be known. I prayed them, for the honour of God, to consider if, in your name, I could possibly do anything to serve them and the Queen at the same time, again pointing out that they were dealing in this matter with their Sovereign, and that even though God should so favour them as to give them victory in the battle, they would perhaps be in greater trouble than ever. They told me they only knew of two things which could prevent bloodshed: the first, that the Queen would consent to leave these wicked persons who had possession of her, in which case they would acknowledge their fault on their knees and remain her very humble and very obedient servants; the other, that I would be so good as to bear a message declaring that if the Duke would come out between the two armies, they would send one from their side who would maintain to his face that he was the real murderer of the late King. If he desired a second, or as many as four, ten, or twelve, they should be found for him. I replied that, as to these two points, I could speak of neither the one nor the other, as I thought they would greatly displease the Queen, begging them to give me some other alternative. They told me they knew of no other, and they would rather all be buried alive than that the truth as to the death of the late King should not be made known; considering that if they did not do their duty, God would punish them for it.

I then begged permission to go to the Queen, whom I had always known to be a Princess of such great clemency that perhaps I might find some way to mediate with her. They did not seem to take this well, at which I complained greatly, saying it would be announced that I had given myself up to their side,

and I vowed before God that if I could do nothing with her Majesty, I would show partiality to neither side. After having spoken together, M. Lethington replied for them that, seeing in me the Ambassador of so great a Prince as your Majesty, whose very humble and obedient servants they desired to remain, and wishing above all things to preserve the alliance of this kingdom with yours, I should be free to pass to and fro in their army, to go to the Queen, or wherever it seemed good to me, and that, for this purpose, they would give me safe conduct. I thanked them warmly for the good will they showed your Majesty, praying for its continuance. I then asked them that I might go to the Queen. They gave me fifty horse, which I took as far as their skirmishers, who had already passed the brook.

As I approached the army of the Queen, Captain Cladre, with twenty-five or thirty horse, came to meet me and brought me to her Majesty. After saluting her and kissing hands, I made known to her the trouble in which you and the Queen, her mother-in-law, would be, when you knew the condition in which I saw her; and told her what I had said to the Lords of the Council, and what they had said to me. Then I besought her, having always known her to be a Princess of such great clemency, that she would think and bear in mind that they were her subjects, as they themselves had said, and her very humble and affectionate servants. Her Majesty replied that they showed themselves very evilly disposed to her, acting against what they had signed, and that they themselves had married her to him whom they had vindicated of the deed of which they now accused him; that, nevertheless, if they would acknowledge their fault and ask her pardon, she was ready to open her arms and embrace them.

At this point the Duke arrived, who was very busy in the ordering of their army. We saluted each other, but I did not offer to embrace him. He asked me, in a loud voice, so that his army might hear, and with a very bold manner, if he was the one

they wanted. I replied, also loudly, that since he desired to know, I had just been speaking with them, and they had assured me they were the very humble subjects and servants of the Queen; but, in a lower tone, told him that they were his mortal enemies. He asked what harm he had done to them—still speaking loudly, so that every one should observe his assurance. He declared that he had never thought of displeasing any one, but rather desired to please everybody, and that they were only envious of his greatness. Fortune, he said, was to be won by any one who chose, and there was not one of them who would not like to be in his place. Nevertheless, he begged me to do so much for him, and for the honour of God, as to put an end to the trouble in which he saw the Queen, whose suffering was extreme, and avoid bloodshed, by telling the Lords that if there was any one of them of suitable rank willing to meet him in single combat, he would fight him, although he had the honour of being the husband of the Queen, declaring his cause to be so just that he was assured that God would be with him. I did not wish to comply with him any more than with the others; moreover, the Queen said she would not suffer it, and that she espoused this quarrel with him. Finally, I said I should consider myself fortunate if, in the name of your Majesty, I could be of service to the Queen and to the two armies.

The Duke replied that we could not speak any longer now, as he saw the enemy approaching, and that they had already crossed the brook; so that if I wished to emulate that go-between who, unable to bring about peace between the two armies of Scipio and Hannibal, and wishing to favour neither side, took up a position where he had watched the greatest pastime he had ever seen, I could do so now and should see such good fighting as I had never enjoyed before. I said it was not from the Queen and these two armies that I desired such amusement, but that, on the contrary, I should never see anything which

would distress me so much. I must say that I heard him speak with the confidence of a great captain who would lead his army gallantly and wisely, and amused myself quite a long time in estimating that he would have the best of it if his men remained faithful. I praised him that he was in no way perturbed at seeing his enemy resolute, while he could not be assured of half his own men. His army consisted of 4,000 men, and he had three pieces of ordnance. The enemy had none, and could not have numbered more than 3,500 men at most. . . .

I bade farewell to the Queen with extreme regret, leaving her with tears in her eyes, and went back to the others, to tell them again how I had found the Queen full of clemency, and that she had told me that if they would acknowledge their fault to her Majesty she would open her arms to them. They told me stoutly that they would never discuss any reconciliation except on the terms they had mentioned, and stated that this parleying would do them harm. At which they took their morions [steel caps] in hand, and thanking me for what I had done, begged me, in God's honour, to leave them, which I did. . . .

The Queen's standard bears a lion, the arms of this kingdom. The Lords carry a white ensign, on which there is a dead man near a tree (because the late King was found in a garden near a tree), and a child on its knees, representing the Prince of this kingdom, who holds a scroll on which are these words: "Judge and Revenge my Cause, O Lord!"[1]

After my departure the two armies began to advance upon each other, manœuvring for position. This they

[1] "The Queen's apparel in the field," wrote Drury to Cecil on June 18, "was after the fashion of the women of Edinburgh, in a red petticoat, sleeves tied with points a 'partlyte,' a velvet hat and muffler. She used great persuasion and encouragement to her people to have tried it by battle. For welcome the Lords showed her the banner with the dead body, which seeing they say that she wished she had never seen him. The banner was hanged out before her window at the Provost's house, wherewith she seemed much offended."—Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 254.

managed well, being separated by a little valley, so that the attacking party on either side would have to descend and climb up to attack. From eleven in the morning until five in the evening they continued thus watching each other, all remaining on foot, after the fashion in this country, where the horses are only mounted at the moment of attack. Towards the end of this time there were suggestions in the Queen's army that terms had better be made, which greatly disconcerted her Majesty and the Duke, though this was what they had always feared. Presently, indeed, some of their troops advanced towards the other side, intimating that they wished to parley. There were similar views in the other army. Thereupon it was agreed that the Duke should advance between the two armies and fight it out in single combat. The Duke was willing, and the Queen, seeing that all was going ill, yielded. On the other side the Laird of Tullibardine first offered himself for the combat. The Duke agreed, but the Queen declined emphatically, declaring that there were others present of much higher rank. Finally, my Lord Lindsay presented himself, and a semblance was made of accepting him. During this parleying, little by little, the opposing troops began to intermingle, so that great disorder could be seen in the Queen's army. When her Majesty perceived this, she requested that she might speak to the Laird of Grange from the enemy's side, and on his arrival asked him if there were no means of making some agreement for the safety of the Duke? He said "No," they were resolved to die or take him. Thereupon the Duke mounted his horse, and with twenty-five or thirty horsemen escaped to Dunbar.[1] Her Majesty

[1] Sir James Melville declares in his "Memoirs" that while Grange was speaking with her Majesty "the Earl of Bothwell appointed a soldier to shoot him, until the Queen gave a cry, and said that he should not do her that shame, who had promised that he should come and return safely." Nau's account states that she first asked to speak privately with Lethington, who excused himself on the ground that he was not with the rebels. The Earl of Atholl sent a similar excuse. When Grange came she desired him to provide for the safety of Bothwell, but the Laird replied that he had no authority for discussing that

then joined her adversaries, and the two armies retired together on Edinburgh, where the Queen was lodged in the house of the Provost.

At one o'clock the next morning her Majesty appeared at a window, making piteous lamentation, and weeping bitterly. Seeing Lethington pass she begged him, for the honour of God, to let her speak to him. Thereupon he went into her room, and the crowd which had assembled at her cries was sent away.[1] When I requested the Lords that I might be

question. "Grange thereupon," writes Nau, "took Bothwell's hand, and advised him to depart, promising that, as he was an honest man, he would do his utmost to prevent him from being pursued." The same authority adds that though Bothwell would by no means submit to this arrangement at first, he was at length overcome by the Queen's entreaties, "who persuaded him to absent himself for a time till the issue of the coming Parliament should be known," promising him that if Parliament cleared him she would remain his loyal wife. Nau further states that Bothwell, anxious to ease his conscience before leaving, told her Majesty that the Earl of Morton, Secretary Lethington, James Balfour, and some others, were guilty of Darnley's death, the whole having been executed by their direction and counsel. "He showed her their signatures to the bond agreed upon among themselves, and told her to take good care of that paper." Whether this mysterious document was the original murder bond or not, it was never produced. Whatever it was, it may have been taken from her in captivity. In the following October, as will be seen on p. 317, Drury reported that certain writings had been burned, "and the same which concerns her part kept to be shown."

[1] John Beaton, in his account to his brother, describes how the Queen on this occasion "cried forth to the people that she was held in prison, and kept by her own subjects who had betrayed her. She came to the said window sundry times in so miserable a state, her hair hanging about her ears, and her breast, yea, the most part of her body, from the waist up, bare and discovered, that no man could look upon her but she moved him to pity and compassion" (Laing, Vol. II., p. 117). Nau declares that when Lethington passed he "drew down his hat and made as though he had neither seen nor heard her Majesty." He describes an interview between them which, it is alleged, took place during the following evening, when the Queen "threatened Lethington that if he continued to act in conjunction with these noblemen, and plot along with them, she, who until now had supported and preserved him, would publish in the end what Bothwell had told her about his doings." Lethington told Du Croc after the interview that Mary had protested against the wrong they did her in "separating her from the husband with whom she thought to live and die in the greatest happiness." Lethington maintained, on the contrary, that they were acting for her good. "It is a fact," he said, "that Bothwell since his marriage with you has written repeatedly to his first wife, and still regards her as his lawful wife, but your Majesty as his concubine." Mary's reply was that Bothwell's letters to her disputed that.—F. Von Raumer's "Elizabeth and Mary Stuart," p. 102.

allowed to see her, they answered that they would be very pleased to grant an interview if they could be assured that I only wished to speak with her for her peace and their own as well. The difficulty was that she could use foreign languages, and they wished me to speak to them before speaking to her Majesty. I agreed to this. In the meantime, however, an alarm was raised in the town which occupied them nearly the whole day, and about nine o'clock in the evening they brought her to Holyrood Abbey, her usual residence here. Two hundred men on foot preceded her, carrying the banner representing the dead King; the Lords, also on foot, escorting her Majesty, followed by 1,000 to 1,200 men. And, in the night, they removed her from the town, I think to Lochleven Castle.

According to Melville, she was hurried off to Lochleven upon the discovery that Mary had written a letter to Bothwell, promising "a reward to any of her keepers to see it safely conveyed to Dunbar unto the said Earl, calling him her dear heart, whom she would never forget, nor abandon for absence, and that she sent him away only for his safety, willing him to be comforted, and be on his guard: which writing the loon delivered unto the Lords, after he had promised to do the contrary." Whether there is any truth in this story it is impossible to say, but the letter was never produced when the time came to prosecute the Queen. Drury told Cecil that "the cause why she took her journey so late in the night was to avoid the crying out of the people with many reproachful words, 'burn her, burn her: she is not worthy to live; kill, drown her,' and such like."

CHAPTER VIII

MARY'S ABDICATION

Mary at Lochleven—Despair Gives Place to Hope—Ruthven Falls under her Spell—Elizabeth's Letter to her by Throckmorton—Throckmorton's Mission — His Interview with Lethington—Murray's Temptations in France—His Summons to Return—Bothwell's Easy Escape—Mary's Life in Lochleven—First Report of Attempt to Escape—Complains of her Harsh Treatment—Her Reason for Not Abandoning Bothwell—Her Alleged Children at Lochleven—The Lords and Elizabeth—Knox Returns with a Vengeance — Contradictory Accounts of Mary's Abdication — Coronation of the Infant James—Throckmorton Claims to have Saved Mary's Life.

Is it surprising that Mary, innocent or guilty, entered her island prison with a heart of lead? Abandoning herself to despair, she "remained for fifteen days and more," according to Nau, "without eating, drinking, or conversing with the inmates of the house, so that many thought she would have died." It was hardly likely that she would feel drawn to conversation with a household which belonged to her ancient enemies, the Douglases, and whose mistress was none other than the Earl of Murray's mother, the Lady Douglas whom her own father had loved too well. Presently, however, she regained some of her courage. The Queen, reported Drury at the beginning of July, "better digests her being at Lochleven, and uses some exercise."[1] Perhaps it was the courage born of despair, and the knowledge that she was destined to have a child by Bothwell; perhaps because word had reached her that the Hamiltons, and certain of her Catholic nobles, had pledged themselves to effect her rescue. Not that there was much hope on that account. "Though the Hamiltons pretend the liberty of the Queen," wrote Drury in the same letter, "yet is the same not for her good, for neither likes she of them nor they of her. Already it is, 'What is he, a Hamilton or a Stuart?'"

It was not long before Mary again began to exercise that magic spell by which countless men, both before and since,

[1] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 269.

have been bewitched. One of her warders was Lord Ruthven, son of that Ruthven who played so large a part in the assassination of her favourite, Riccio. Before a month had elapsed he had so far fallen under this seductive spell as to be deemed unsafe to trust any longer in her company. This we learn, as will presently be seen, from Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who was sent by Elizabeth to find out the true state of affairs in Scotland, and among other things, to assure Mary in person that Elizabeth was determined to aid her by all possible measures for the recovery of her liberty. Mary, through Nau's "History," accused Ruthven of infamously offering her her freedom at the cost of her virtue. Throckmorton—to return to that Ambassador's unwelcome task—carried a letter from his mistress to the imprisoned Mary, written in the non-committal hand of the cautious Cecil:

ELIZABETH TO MARY STUART.

[Strickland's "*Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots.*"]

RICHMOND, *June* 30, 1567.

Madame,

Our perplexity is such, both for your trouble and for the occasion thereof, that we cannot find the old way which we were accustomed to walk in, by writing to you with our own hand. And yet therein we mean not you should conceive on our part any lack of our old friendship; wherefore we send this bearer, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, that he understand truly your state, and thereupon to impart to you our true meaning at fuller length than we could to your own faithful servant, Robert Melville, who, though he did—as, we believe, according to the charge given him—use much earnest speech to move us to think well and allow of your doings, yet such is both the general report of you to the contrary, and the evidence of sundry of your acts since the death of your late husband, as we could not by him be satisfied to our desire: wherefore we require you to give to this bearer firm credit in all things, as you would give overselves; and so we end.

Throckmorton's instructions were more explicit. Three things, he was to declare, the Queen of England was ready to promise her: first, to restore her to liberty either by persuasion and treaty, or by force; next, to procure due punishment of her husband's murder; and third, to preserve the young Prince from all danger—meaning that he should be handed over to Elizabeth's protection in England. To the Lords the Ambassador was to say that the Queen of England neither could, nor would, "endure for any respect, to have their Sovereign imprisoned or deprived of her estate, or put in peril of her person;" and he was generally to do his best to bring about accord between Mary and her subjects. The opening paragraph of Throckmorton's instructions puts the case in a nutshell from Elizabeth's point of view:

He is to declare the Queen's grief at the evil accidents that of late happened from time to time to the Queen of Scots, impairing her fame and honour, specially on the death of her husband, horribly murdered so near to her, and so few hours after her being with him, and nothing done to punish the murderers; next favouring Bothwell and his associates, men of notorious evil name, whom the world charged with the murder; thirdly, with maintaining him in procuring such a strange divorce from his wife, a good lady—as never was heard that a man guilty should for his offences put away his innocent wife, and that to be coloured by form of law. Finally, to take such a defamed person to her husband. Which things almost made her Majesty think to deal no more with her by way of advice, but look on her as a person desperate to recover her honour, as other Princes her friends, and near kinsfolk also judge. But now finding, from intestine troubles, she is restrained by her nobility and subjects from liberty, the Queen has changed her intention of silence and forbearing to deal in her sister's causes, to commiseration for her and determination to aid and relieve her by all possible means to recover her liberty, and not suffer her, being by God's ordinance the Prince and Sovereign, to be in

subjection to them that by nature and law are subjected to her.[1]

Throckmorton, however, found his path to Lochleven beset by countless difficulties. The Lords, determined to run no risks in that direction, were in no mood to listen to Elizabeth's doctrine of the sacred rights of royal blood. They had already declined to allow the French Ambassador to see their imprisoned Sovereign, and it was in vain that Throckmorton pleaded that his case was different. Lethington broke this news to him at an interview which the Ambassador reported at great length:

SIR NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON TO QUEEN ELIZABETH

[Stevenson's "*Illustrations.*"]

EDINBURGH, *July* 14, 1567.

. . . He [Lethington] said, for his own part he was much bound unto your Majesty, and had always found great favour and courtesy in England. "But to be plain with you, Sir," said he, "there is not many of this assembly that have found so great an obligation at the Queen your Sovereign's hands as at the French King's; for the Earls of Morton and Glencairn be the only persons which took benefit by the Queen's Majesty's aid at Leith; the rest of the noblemen were not in that action. And we think," said he, "the Queen's Majesty your Sovereign, by the opinion of her own Council and all the world, took as great benefit by that charge as the realm of Scotland did, or any particular person. And not to talk with you as an Ambassador, but with Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, my Lord Morton and such as were in pain for the death of David found but cold favour at the Queen's Majesty's hands when they were banished forth of their own country. But I would all our whole company were as well willing to accomplish the Queen your Sovereign's intentions and desires as I am for my own part; I am but one, and that of the meanest sort, and they be many noblemen and such as

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., pp. 339–40.

have great interest in the matter. Marry, you shall be assured I will employ myself to employ my credit, and all that I may do to satisfy the Queen your mistress as much as lieth in me, and, for your own part, you have a great many of friends in this assembly," with many other good words. But for conclusion, I must take this for an answer, to stay until the other Lords were come; and thereupon I thought meet to advertise your Majesty what hath passed, and how far forth I have proceeded, your expectation being great to hear from hence. . . .

The Queen of Scotland remaineth in good health in the Castle of Lochleven, guarded by the Lords Lindsay and Lochleven, the owner of the house, for the Lord Ruthven is employed in another commission, because he began to show favour to the Queen, and to give her intelligence. She is waited on with five or six ladies, four or five gentlewomen, and two chamberers, whereof one is a Frenchwoman. The Earl of Buchan, the Earl of Murray's brother, hath also liberty to come to her at his pleasure. The Lords aforesaid, which have her in guard, do keep her very straitly, and as far as I can perceive their rigour proceedeth by the order from these men, because the Queen will not by any means be induced to lend her authority to prosecute the murder, nor will consent by any persuasion to abandon the Lord Bothwell for her husband, but avoweth constantly that she will live and die with him, and saith if it were put to her choice to relinquish her crown and kingdom or the Lord Bothwell, she would leave her kingdom and dignity to live as a simple damsel with him, and that she will never consent that he shall fare worse or have more harm than herself. . . .

The chiefest of the Lords which be here present at this time dare not show so much lenity to the Queen as I think they could be contented for fear of the rage of the people. The women be most furious and impudent against the Queen, and yet the men be mad enough; so as a stranger over busy may soon be made

a sacrifice amongst them. There was a great bruit that the Hamiltons with their adherents would put their force into the fields against the 24th of this month, but I do not find that intent so true as the common bruit goeth. . . .

The Earl of Lennox is by these Lords much desired here, and I do believe your Majesty may so use him as he shall be able to promote your purpose with these men. The Earl of Argyll, the Hamiltons and he be incompatible. I do find amongst the Hamiltons, Argyll, and that company, two strange and sundry humours. The Hamiltons do make show of the liberty of the Queen, and prosecute that with great earnestness, because they would have these Lords destroy her rather than she should be recovered from them by violence. Another while they seem to desire her liberty and Bothwell's destruction, because they would compass a marriage betwixt the Queen and the Lord of Arbroath. The Earl of Argyll doth affect her liberty and Bothwell's destruction, because he would marry the Queen to his brother, and yet neither of them, notwithstanding their open concurrence as appeareth by their band, doth discover their minds to each other, nor mind one end.

On the day on which Throckmorton was writing the above dispatch Elizabeth was sending him supplementary instructions regarding the infant Prince, fearful lest the French should forestall her in that direction:

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO SIR NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON

[Strickland's "*Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots.*"]

July 14, 1567.

Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Though we think that cases will often change upon variety of accidents, yet this we think for sundry respects not amiss: that as you shall deal with the Lords having charge of the young Prince, for the committing of him unto our realm, so you shall do well, in treaty with the Queen, to offer her that, whereas her

realm appeareth to be subject to sundry troubles from time to time, and thereby (as is manifest) her son cannot be free from peril, if she will be contented her son may enjoy surety and quietness within this our realm, being so near, as she knoweth it is, we shall not fail but yield to her as good safety therein for her son as can be devised for any that might be our child, born of our own body, and shall be glad to show to her therein the true effect of natural friendship. And herein she may be by you remembered how much good may ensue to her son to be so nourished and acquainted with our realm.

Therefore, all things considered, this opportunity for her son rather ought to be sought by her and the friends of him, than offered by us ; and to this end, we mean that you shall so deal with her, both to stay her in act from inclining to the French practice, which (as is well known to us) is to convey the Prince into France, and also to avoid any just offence that she might hereafter conceive, if she should hear that we should deal [treat] with the Lords for the Prince.

ELIZABETH, R.

Letters like the following were naturally calculated to fill Elizabeth with alarm :

THOMAS BARNABY TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

[Pepys Manuscripts, Historical MSS. Commission.]

POISSY, *June* 30, 1567.

Her Majesty should know that the King of France, having heard from his Ambassador in Scotland of the taking of the Queen and of the flight of her husband, vaunts that he will set her at liberty, and get the young Prince into his hands, either by hook or crook. To this end he privately procured the Bishop of Glasgow to send for the Earl of Murray to Orleans, whom he persuaded to return with all speed to Scotland, offering him the Order of St. Michael, the captaincy of the Scottish Company, to be again erected, and other gratifications, to be at his devotion.

What else passed between them I am not able to say. The Earl will himself ere long advertise her Majesty of his determination to go to Scotland as soon as this King or he shall hear again from there. I wish her Majesty would satisfy him better when he returns than she did coming here. Yet I trust that he will still be as ready to please her Majesty as ever.

Have an eye that no French ships steal thither to convey the Prince away, for not long since such a matter was a-brewing. . . . Some of their merchant ships under colour of a voyage shall do the deed. . . .

We learn more of Murray's interview from Guzman and the Venetian Ambassador in Paris, who both agree as to the eagerness of the French Court to send him back to Scotland in their pay. "Their most Christian Majesties," wrote Giovanno Correr to the Doge of Venice, "in order that he might depart well satisfied, had presented him with two thousand silver crowns, and had offered him a yearly pension of two thousand francs. He however declined to accept these favours, and was known to have said, that if their Majesties desired to give him a pension they should treat him as King Henry had treated the Earls of Argyll and Huntly, who besides having been created Knights of the Order [of St. Michael], had each received a provision of five thousand francs."[1] The Spanish Ambassador's account, which was dated from London on July 12, contained the further news that Murray, who had been marking time on the Continent since his prudent departure from Scotland after Bothwell's mock trial in April, had now received from the triumphant Lords his summons to return:

I sent word to Cecil yesterday that I had learned the King of France had summoned the Earl of Murray, who was in Lyons, as soon as he heard of the detention of the Queen, and had offered him money and other inducements to hand over the Prince to the French, and he, Cecil, ought to be on the alert. He sent to say that it was true that the King and

[1] Venetian Calendar, Vol. VII., p. 400.

Queen and the Duke of Nemours had promised a sum of money for the purpose indicated, and that Murray had replied that he had no news of the present state of things in Scotland, and could not promise what was asked, but that he would use his best efforts to procure the Queen's liberation, and to learn the reason of her detention. If he could not succeed in this, he would try to obtain possession of the Prince, and would start for Scotland at once. The Duke, however, asked him to stay a few days longer and write to the Scottish nobles before he left, asking them the reason of the Queen's detention, and if they would give up the Prince. The Earl has done this, and had sent one of his people with letters, but after the departure of his messenger a courier had reached Murray from the nobles, summoning him thither and offering him the custody of the Prince. This statement had just been brought by a man who has arrived from France. The gentleman that Murray had dispatched has already gone on to Scotland, and they say that the Earl of Bothwell is known to be in one of the Orkney Isles with his brother, who is called the Earl of Caithness.[1]

Bothwell had not been hunted with the relentlessness which might have been expected of men whose ostensible object in rebelling had been to bring him to justice. It is true that the Queen, according to the Captain of Inchkeith, had surrendered at Carberry only on condition that Bothwell should not be pursued;[2] but no steps seem to have been taken for an unconscionable time to prevent him from leaving the country altogether. He did embark—as Du Croc reported to Charles IX. in his letter of January 21—after remaining undisturbed for a few days at Dunbar Castle, whither he had galloped after bidding farewell to the hapless woman whose life he had so wantonly wrecked. Du Croc was right in thinking that Bothwell would not leave the coast —for many weeks, at all events. It was not until June 26

[1] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., pp. 657–8.
[2] Teulet, Vol. II., p. 307.

that a proclamation was issued by the Confederate Lords offering a reward of 1,000 crowns for his capture.[1] Four days later a summons was issued in Mary's name charging him to appear, with his accomplices, within the Tolbooth of Edinburgh on August 22, "to underly the law, with certification if they fail that they shall be declared rebels, and put to the horn." Bothwell had fled northward long before this, after trying in vain to stir up the Border by his emissaries. We catch fleeting glimpses of him at various points, evidently striving to collect a fighting force. Throckmorton was by no means sure, on July 6, that he had shot his last bolt. Bothwell, he wrote to Cecil on that date, was "in better case than he was glad of, and he had been assured that the Hamiltons, Huntly, Argyll, Fleming, Seton, Boyd, and the Castle of Dumbarton were at his devotion."[2] But little trust, however, could be placed in any of his old supporters, as Throckmorton and other witnesses have testified:

The Earl of Bothwell (wrote Elizabeth's Ambassador on July 16) hath been of late with the Earl of Huntly at Strathbogie, in the north of Scotland, where he hath attempted to levy force and make some stir. But though the Earl of Huntly were holden suspected to these men, he, finding Bothwell so little favoured in all quarters, will not adventure much for him. And now I hear say that the said Earl can be contented that Bothwell should miscarry, to rid the Queen and his sister of so wicked a husband. Whereupon I understand that Bothwell did hastily retire himself away from the Earl of Huntly's house in the night into Spyny, the Bishop of Murray's house,[3] where also it is [said] he will not make any long tarrying, but retire himself to the Isles of Orkney, which be in number 32, whereof the Queen did create him Duke. But I hear say, these Lords have given good order to impeach his entry into those Islands, and namely, by the brother of Sir James Balfour, who is captain of

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 341.
[2] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 273.
[3] The Bishop of Murray was Bothwell's great uncle, Patrick Hepburn.

the strongest place there; the Bishop also being at these Lords' devotion. The Hamiltons and the Earl of Argyll begin to enter into traffic with these Lords. I do hear say, the Hamiltons can be pleased with the Queen's detention, or a worse fare; and concur with the Lords in all things, so as the crowning of the Prince, nor none other act, may defeat them of their possibility to this Crown, which they fear by the setting up of the house of the Stuarts.[1]

In the meantime Mary was reported to be more resigned to her fate. "The Queen of Scots is calmed, and better quieted than of late," wrote Bedford to Cecil on July 17, "and takes both rest and meat, and also some pastime, as dancing and playing at the cards, much better than she was wont, so as (it is said) she is become fat."[2] If Mary really indulged in dancing, it could only have been a tragic piece of acting on her part to disarm her guards. It was at this time that the first rumours were circulated of her attempts to escape. "They say," wrote Guzman to Philip, "that the Queen, while walking round the Castle where she is situated, as I have written, on a lake, she saw a small boat, and taking advantage of the carelessness of her guard, entered it alone for the purpose of escaping."[3] But she had not gone far, he added, when the alarm was raised, and another party of guards intercepting her, she was forced to return. Whether Guzman was misinformed or not, Throckmorton presently reported that Mary was now more rigorously guarded, and confined to the tower of the Castle, where she complained bitterly of her hard treatment. She also now went "in great fear of her life," according to Throckmorton's letter of July 16, "and therefore hath uttered to some of the Lords about her that she can be very well contented to live in a close nunnery in France, or with the old Dowager of Guise, her grandmother."[4] Throckmorton himself was still refused permission to visit her, but, as he told Elizabeth in his next letter, he found means of informing her that he was there on

[1] Stevenson's "Selections," p. 217.
[2] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 287.
[3] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., pp. 661–7.
[4] Stevenson's "Selections." p. 217.

his mistress's behalf to secure her release. Then it was that Mary made her best excuse for refusing to abandon her husband, declaring her readiness to die rather than "acknowledge herself to be with child of a bastard, and to have forfeited her honour":[1]

SIR NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[Stevenson's "*Illustrations.*"]

EDINBURGH, *July* 18, 1567.

. . . May it please your Majesty to understand, Robert Melville returned from the Queen at Lochleven to this town the 17th of July, and brought a letter from her, written of her own hand to these Lords, which doth contain, as I understand, matter as followeth:

A request unto them to have consideration of her health, and if they will not put her at liberty, to change her place of restraint to the Castle of Stirling, to the end she might have the comfort and company of her son. And if they will not change her from Lochleven, she required to have some other gentlewoman about her, naming none, to have her pothecary, to have some modest minister, to have an embroiderer to draw forth such work as she would be occupied about, and to have a valet of her chamber.

Touching the government of the realm, she maketh two offers, which are but generally touched in her letter; the particularities be not specified, but referred to Robert Melville's credit. The one is to commit it only and wholly to the Earl of Murray, the other is to the Lords whose names ensue, assisted by such others as they shall call unto them, that is to say, the Duke of Châtelherault, the Earls Huntly, Argyll, Atholl,

[1] According to Nau, the Queen was prematurely delivered of twins before the signing of her abdication on July 24 (see p. 287). Less plausible stories of children born to Mary during her imprisonment are those mentioned by Labanoff (Vol. II., p. 63), to the effect that she gave birth, in February, 1568, to a daughter, "who was taken to France, where she became a nun at Notre Dame de Soissons;" and Burnet ("History of His Own Time," Vol. I., p. 58), charging her with bearing a son by young George Douglas, of Lochleven, who afterwards planned her escape.

Lennox with much ado, Morton, Murray, Mar and Glencairn. She hath written unto them that I might have access unto her. She requireth further that if they will not treat her and regard her as their Queen, yet to use her as the King their Sovereign's daughter, whom many of them knew, and as their Prince's mother. She will by no means yield to abandon Bothwell for her husband, nor relinquish him; which matter will do her most harm of all, and hardeneth these Lords to great severity against her. She yieldeth in words to the prosecution of the murder. I have found the means to let her know that your Majesty hath sent me hither for her release. I have also persuaded her to conform herself to renounce Bothwell for her husband, and to be contented to suffer a divorce to pass betwixt them. She hath sent me word that she will in no wise consent unto it, but rather die, grounding herself upon this reason, that, taking herself to be seven weeks gone with child, by renouncing Bothwell she should acknowledge herself to be with child of a bastard, and to have forfeited her honour, which she will not do to die for it. I have persuaded her, to save her own life and her child, to choose the least hard condition.

Mr. Knox arrived here in this town the 17th of this month, with whom I have had some conference, and with Mr. Craig also, the other minister of this town. I have persuaded with them to preach and persuade lenity. I find them both very austere in this conference; what I shall do hereafter I know not. They are furnished with many arguments, some forth of the Scripture, some forth of histories, some grounded, as they say, upon the laws of this realm, some upon practices used in this realm, and some upon the conditions and other made by their Prince at her Coronation.

As I wrote unto your Majesty in my last, the Hamiltons now find no matter to dissever these Lords and them asunder, but would concur in all things, yea in any extremity against the Queen, so as they might

be assured, if the Prince of Scotland were crowned King and should die without issue, that the Earl of Lennox's son living should not inherit the crown of this realm, as next heir to his nephew. And though these Lords and Counsellors speak reverently, mildly, and charitably of their Queen, so as I cannot gather by their speeches any intention to cruelty or violence, yet I do find by intelligence, that the Queen is in very great peril of her life, by reason that the people assembled at this convention do mind vehemently the destruction of her.

It is a public speech amongst all the people and amongst all estates, saving the Counsellors, that their Queen hath no more liberty nor privilege to commit murder nor adultery than any other private person, neither by God's law, nor by the laws of the realm.

That being the prevailing mood, it was hopeless, as Throckmorton realised only too well, to expect the Confederate Lords to bow to Elizabeth's will in the matter, much as they would have liked Elizabeth's financial aid. "I do find by the Laird of Lethington, who is wisest to her Majesty and her realm best affected, and is the only means to work any good thing so as it be probable," wrote Throckmorton to Cecil, "that it is no time to speak of the delivery of their Prince, and yet, as one that would win things to your purpose by time and degrees, he wisheth that her Majesty would not have made such difficulty to have employed among them 10,000 or 12,000 crowns; in respect publicly that her Majesty would pursue such a murder committed against her subject and kinsman, and so separate an adventurer from the Queen her cousin as Bothwell is, though her Majesty do not weigh their securities, nor the preservation of the Prince. He saith, at long reckoning the benefit will prove almost as much to her advantage and the realms as any money bestowed since her coming to the Crown, and should have won her more sure servants and friends here to compass her desires than aforetime as much bestowed among them by any other prince, or at any other time."[1]

[1] Stevenson's "Selections," p. 211.

The formal reply of the Confederate Lords to Throckmorton's demands was brought to him by Lethington on July 21—exactly a month, it is worth remembering, after the "sichting" of the Casket Letters, as described in Morton's declaration. The Casket evidence, if genuine, had proved Mary's guilt up to the hilt; but Throckmorton makes no mention of this until some days later; and in the following statement of their case for Elizabeth's benefit the Lords speak of Mary as entirely the victim of Bothwell's shameful lust, instead of—if they believed in the letters—urging him on with criminal passion:

THE CONFEDERATE LORDS TO SIR NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON.

[Stevenson's "*Selections.*"]

EDINBURGH, *July* 21, 1567.

. . . Although we can presently say no further for satisfying of your demands till the coming of the remaining noblemen, yet perceiving by that you have proposed unto us that the Queen's Majesty your mistress finds strange our behaviour towards the Queen's Majesty our Sovereign and her Highness's imprisonment, whereupon you have made us a large and great remonstrance, putting us in mind of duty of subjects towards their natural Princess; we will, for your better satisfaction therein, disclose some parts of our intention and proceedings, which we will desire you to impart to the Queen your mistress, not doubting but, when her Highness shall have understood the same, she shall not so far disallow our doings in that behalf. And first, we pray her Highness thus to conceive of us, that we take no pleasure to deal with our Sovereign after this sort, as we are presently forced to do, being the person in the world whom, according to our bounden duty, we have in our hearts most revered and honoured, whose grandeur we have most earnestly wished, and with the very hazard of our lives would have endeavoured ourselves to have procured it. We never were about in any wise to restrain her liberty, nor never entered in deliberation at the

beginning of this cause of anything might touch her person; the grounds of our intents are so well known to the world and better a great deal than we wish they were; forasmuch as they import the ignominy of this whole nation, and touch in honour as well the Queen herself as us all.

How horribly the King, her Majesty's husband, was murdered is the common fable of the vulgar throughout Christendom; what form of justice has been kept for punishment thereof, or rather how scornfully a disguised mask was set up in place of justice; if our testimony be suspected, we trust the Queen your mistress's own conscience is sufficiently informed of the truth by other means. How shamefully the Queen our Sovereign was led captive; and by fear, force, and, as by many conjectures may be well suspected, other extraordinary and more unlawful means, compelled to become bedfellow to another wife's husband, and to him who not three months afore had in his bed most cruelly murdered her husband, is manifest to the world, to the great dishonour of her Majesty, us all and this whole nation. In what case the innocent babe, our native Prince, then stood, is easy to be considered, when the murderer by such ungodly means had attained the place of him whom to the same end he had murdered. What end, think you, could we have looked for the Earl of Bothwell's proceedings with progress of time? or in what bounds could his immoderate ambition have been concluded, who, not content of his own estate, had in three months found such hap in an unhappy enterprise, that, by the murder of the babe's father, he had purchased a pretended marriage of the mother, seized her person in his hands, environed with a continual guard of two hundred harquebusiers as well day as night, wherever she went (besides a number of his servants and other naughty persons, murderers, and pirates, who, to ensure impunity of their wicked life and liberty to do ill, made their dependence to him), and by their means brought the nobility on

that miserable point, if any had to do with the Prince, it behoved him, before he could come to his presence, to go through the ranks of harquebusiers under the mercy of a notorious tyrant, as it were to pass the pickets, a new example, and wherewith this nation had never been acquainted; and yet few or none admitted to her speech, that for his suspicious heart, brought in fear by the testimony of an evil conscience, might not suffer the subjects to have access to her Majesty as they were wont to do? Besides all this, the principal strengths, fortresses, with the whole artillery and munition, the whole government and direction of all the affairs of the realm, seized in his hands. What rested to finish the work begun, and to accomplish the whole desire of his ambitious heart, but to send the son after the father? and as might be suspected, seeing him keep another wife in store, to make the Queen also drink of the same cup, to the end he might invest himself with the crown of the realm? which behoved to be the mark he shot at; for that which by wicked means is purchased must be by the like maintained.

When this was the condition and estate of the realm, what was the office of the nobility? or what became it them to do whom God had called to honourable place in this common weal? Should they have winked at it? Alas, that was too long done, and that we may fair repent! Should they have contented themselves to deal by way of advice or counsel, when counsellors of the realm had no liberty of free speech nor surety of their own life, if they should in counsel resist the inordinate affections of that bloody tyrant, yea, when a few number or in a manner none durst resort to Court? Where you have spoken that, failing thereof, we should have recommended the rest to Almighty God, the advice may be good for the soul but not for the body, and hard to be followed, for therewithal it behoved us assuredly to have recommended the soul of our Prince, and the most part of ourselves, in God's hands, and, as we firmly believe,

the soul also of the Queen our Sovereign, who should not have lived with him half a year to an end, as may be conjectured by the experience of the short time they lived together and the maintaining of his other wife at home in his house. The respects aforesaid, with many others and very necessity, moved us to enterprise the quarrel we have in hand, which was only intended against the Earl of Bothwell's person, to dissolve that dishonourable and unlawful conjunction under the name of marriage, which neither by God's law nor man's law could be valid nor allowed by either religion, Papist or Protestant, but was detestable in the eyes of the whole world ; to remove the shameful slander which amongst all nations was spread of this poor realm, by revenging of that cruel murder, and to preserve the most noble person of that innocent babe. These effects could not be otherwise brought to pass than by punishment of the Earl of Bothwell in his person, which could not be apprehended unless we had put ourselves in arms to that effect. It appeared well, when at the first enterprise we came about Borthwick, we meant nothing to the Queen's person; in so far as, hearing that he was escaped out of the house, we insisted no further to pursue the same, it being most easy to have been taken, but came back to Edinburgh, there to consult how further we should proceed for his apprehension. During which time, for avoiding of the danger hanging over his head, covering himself with the shadow of the Queen's authority, carrying also with him her most noble person, he put a great number of her subjects in arms, of mind to evade us in Edinburgh and to disturb our consultation, which he knew to be so dangerous to him. What did ensue thereon we think you sufficiently understand ; and caring little or nothing for her he saved himself, and she came in our company to Edinburgh. As our enterprise was intended directly against him, so we began to deal with her Majesty and to persuade her that, for her own honour, the safety of her son,

the discharging of her conscience and the public tranquillity of the whole state, she would be content to separate herself from that wicked man, to whom she was never lawfully joined, and with whom she could not remain without the manifest loss of honour and hazard of her whole estate, with all the good remonstrances that to good subjects did appertain to speak to their Prince in such a case ; but all in vain, for flat contrary to our expectations we find her passion so prevail in maintenance of him and his cause that she would not with patience hear speak anything to his reproach, or suffer his doings to be called in question ; but, by the contrary, offered to give over realm and all so she might be suffered to enjoy him, with many threatenings to be revenged on every man who had dealt in the matter. The sharpness of her words were good witnesses of the vehemence of her passion. Whereupon we had just occasion offered to conceive that she would not fail, enduring that passion, so long as any man in Scotland would take arms at her command, to put them to the fields for maintenance of the murderer, and so should it behove us every day to fetch a cruel battle. What inconvenience might have followed thereupon to herself, to her son, to us all, and the whole realm, we leave to your judgment. And yet we thought, as we still do think, knowing the great wisdom wherewith God has endowed her, that within a short time, her mind being a little settled and the eyes of her understanding opened, she would better consider of herself and the state of everything. And so, for eschewing of the present inconvenience, being such as necessarily would have brought on the decay of her own honour and overthrow of the whole estate, it behoved us of two evils to choose the least, which was to sequestrate her person for a season from his company, and from having intelligence with him or such others as were of his faction, to the end we might have a breathing time and leisure to go forward in the prosecution of the murder ; not doubting but,

so soon as by a just trial we might make the truth appear, and that he had received the recompense due to that most abominable act, she would conform herself to allow of our doings, tending more to her own honour than any particular interest that any of us has in the matter. Of this opinion we are, that when all our proceedings from the beginning of this action to the end shall be examined and rightly weighed, it shall appear manifestly that no Christian Prince shall have occasion to mislike of us, but rather by the contrary think that her honour has of us been so respected that we have not cared for the regard thereof what became of ourselves, or what judgment might be taken in the world of our doings. And of a point you may well assure the Queen's Majesty your mistress that, in the prosecution of this matter, we have always kept such moderation as we have not gone nor shall any wise proceed further than justice and the necessity of the cause shall lead us.

Knox, who had discreetly retired from the stage since Riccio's murder—employing his time in writing the greater part of his "History of the Reformation"—now reappeared with a vengeance, preaching continually, as Throckmorton told Elizabeth on July 21, "his severe exhortation as well against the Queen as against Bothwell; threatening the great plague of God to this whole country and nation if she be spared from her condign punishment."[1]

This was only a few days before Lord Lindsay returned from Lochleven with Mary's signature to the Act of Abdication, by which James Stuart became King of Scotland at the age of thirteen months. "Forasmuch as by long, irksome and tedious travail," Mary was made to say in the preamble of the first of the three documents which she signed on this historic occasion, she was "so vexed and worried" that body, spirit and senses were altogether unable longer to endure it; "and therefore we have demitted and renounced the office of government in favour of our only most dear son."

[1] Stevenson's "Selections," p. 240.

In the second document Murray was appointed to act as Regent until James was seventeen years old, and in the third Châtelherault, Lennox, Argyll, Atholl, Morton, Glencairn, and Mar were nominated to act as Regents until Murray's return, and afterwards, in the event of his death or refusal to accept the office as sole Regent.[1] Accounts differ as to the manner in which Lindsay performed his momentous mission to the imprisoned Queen. Throckmorton, as we have seen in his letter to Elizabeth on July 18, declared that the prisoner had herself proposed to commit the realm wholly to Murray, or, as an alternative, to a Council of Lords. This is Throckmorton's account of the preliminaries :

SIR NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[Keith's "*Church and State in Scotland*," Vol. II.]

EDINBURGH, *July* 25, 1567.

It may please your Majesty,

The Earls of Glencairn and Mar, the Lords Sempill, Ochiltree, and the Master of Graham, accompanied with many gentlemen of the west of this realm, to the number of two hundred horses, arrived in this town the 23rd of this month; so did the Lord Lindsay also, being sent for by these Lords from Lochleven.

The same day all the Lords and others of best quality had conference together concerning their proceedings with the Queen their Sovereign; and, as I can learn by assured intelligence, this was among them resolved, that the Lord Lindsay should this day, being the 24th, accompanied with Robert Melville, repair to the Queen, and have in charge to declare unto her, that the Lords here assembled, considering her former misbehaviours, as well in the government of the realm as in her own person, the particularities of both which mis-governments they would forbear to touch for respect they had to her honour, could not permit her any longer to put the realm in peril by her disorders, which were such and so many as they could not think

[1] Keith's "Church and State in Scotland," Vol. II., pp. 706–13.

meet that she should any more stand charged with the governance of the realm; and therefore they did require and advise her to accord quietly, and thereto to give her consent, that her son the Prince might be crowned their King and Sovereign, and also by her assignment that a Council might be appointed and established to govern the realm in his name; and thus doing, they would endeavour themselves to save both her life and honour, both which otherwise stood in great danger.

And further, it was resolved, that in case this Queen would not be conformable to their motions, then her liberty should be restrained to more straitness, and the ladies, gentlewomen, and gentlemen, which be about her, to be sequestered from her. And as far as I can understand in this case of the Queen's refusal to these their demands, they mind to proceed both with violence and force, as well for the coronation of the Prince, as for the overthrow of the Queen. At this present the Countess of Murray, wife to the Earl of Murray, is with the Queen at Lochleven.

Your Majesty might, by my former dispatches, perceive how I had pressed these Lords to have access to the Queen, and likewise to have their answer to all such matters as on your Majesty's behalf I had propounded unto them. So I have again, since the repair of these other Lords to this town, moved to have audience.

The Lord Lindsay departed this morning from this town to Lochleven, accompanied with Robert Melville. He carrieth with him three instruments to be signed by the Queen. The one containing her consent to have her son crowned, and to relinquish the government of the realm. The other is a commission of Regency of the realm to be granted to the Earl of Murray during the King's minority. The third is a like commission to be granted to certain of the nobility and others for the governance of the realm during the King's minority, in case the Earl of Murray will not accept the Regency alone.

The Earl of Argyll hath an assembly of the principals of his country at this present, to take advice of them for his behaviour in these actions. These Lords have sent a special messenger unto him, to require him either to repair to this town unto them, or to his house named Castle Campbell in the Fife. The Hamiltons, as I learn, be quiet, and seem to impugn nothing of these Lords' doings. The Earl of Huntly in the north is quiet also. So these men may go on with what pleases them.

In this Convention of the shires and churches, this hath been as yet proposed amongst them, to establish the religion by some effectual decree; to restore the Ministers to the thirds, which the Queen did resume into her own hands; to abolish Papistry and mass-saying through the whole realm without respect of persons; which article, to put in use, they mind, before it be long, to proceed first against the Bishop of St. Andrews, and then consequently against all other Bishops and men of his faction. The Assembly also hath made request that the murder of the late King may be severely punished, according to the laws of God, according to the practices of their own realm, and according to the laws which they call *jus gentium*, without respect of any person. I do perceive, if these men cannot by fair means induce the Queen to their purpose, they mean to charge her with these three crimes, that is to say, tyranny, for breach and violation of their laws and decrees of the realm, as well that which they call Common Laws as their Statute Laws; and namely, the breach of those statutes which were enacted in her absence, and confirmed by M. de Randam and M. D'Oyssel in the French King her husband's name and hers. Secondly, they mean to charge her with incontinency, as well with the Earl of Bothwell as with others, having (as they say) sufficient proof against her for this crime. Thirdly, they mean to charge her with the murder of her husband, whereof (they say) they have as apparent proof against her as may be, as well by the testimony

of her own handwriting, which they have recovered, as also by sufficient witnesses.

It is possible that the Lords now made use of the Casket Letters to force Mary's hand, putting the fear of death into her heart if she refused to sign the deeds of abdication. What is probably her own account, through Nau, is that Lindsay, accompanied by Ruthven, two notaries and Robert Melville, compelled her to sign the documents while she was ill in bed—"the result of a miscarriage of twins, her issue by Bothwell." She realised from Lindsay's conduct, according to this story, that her life was in great and immediate danger:

Of a truth it was the intention of the rebels, if she did not sign these letters, to take her from Lochleven, and as they were crossing the lake to throw her into it, or secretly to convey her to some island in the middle of the sea, there to be kept unknown to the whole world in close custody for the remainder of her life. Lindsay confirmed this; for, as soon he saw that her Majesty resolutely refused to sign these letters, he told her to rise from bed, and that he had charge to carry her to a place where he would give a good account of her to the Lords of the country. Several times he advised her to sign, for if she did not, she would compel them to cut her throat, however unwilling they might be.[1]

At length, adds Nau, Mary, seeing that there was no help for it, signed the papers, vowing, however, as she did so that since her signature had been obtained by force, she would respect the deeds only so long as she remained in captivity. This last may have been the result of the secret advice alleged by Mary's Commissioners in the following year to have been conveyed to her at this time by Lethington and the Laird of Tullibardine, as well as by Throckmorton:

Before subscribing the demission, it is certain that Atholl, Tullibardine and Lethington, being principals

[1] Nau's "History of Mary Stuart," p. 60.

of their Council, sent Robert Melville to her, with a ring and tokens, advising her to subscribe the writings for to put off that present death which was prepared for her Highness, if she refused the same—assuring her what she did in captivity should not prejudge her Highness in any sort. Melville also brought Sir Nicholas Throckmorton's letter, advising her to the like—to whom her Highness wrote to tell his mistress how she was handled by her subjects; doubting not he showed it to the Queen's Majesty, who was then minded to send an army to deliver our Sovereign, were it not she was advised that if so, the blood of our mistress had paid the pay of her grace's soldiers. And when the writings of demission of her crown were presented to her Majesty by the Lord Lindsay, he menaced her Grace, that if she would not subscribe, he had command to put her presently in the tower, and would do the same; and counselled her Grace to fulfil their desires, or else worse would follow shortly. Which she subscribed with many tears, never liking what was contained in the writings, and afterwards declared she would never abide thereat if she came to liberty.[1]

Throckmorton tells a different tale in the course of his next letter to Elizabeth. The abdication of Mary, whether he assisted in it or not, had placed him in a false position, and his knowledge of Elizabeth told him that he stood in danger of incurring her Majesty's sore displeasure. "My Lord," he wrote to Leicester on July 26, "I am to seek what to do, for my commission of Ambassador was to the Queen, who is deprived of her estate; to tarry here without commission is inconvenient, and to return home to the Queen's Majesty unrevoked is dangerous." Of Mary herself he wrote in the same letter, "it is to be feared the tragedy will end in the person of the Queen violently, as it began in David's and her husband's." Throckmorton's letter to Elizabeth also follows the desperate fortunes of the now discredited Bothwell and the coronation of the infant James:

[1] Scottish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. II., pp. 531–2.

SIR NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[Stevenson's "*Illustrations.*"]

EDINBURGH, *July* 31, 1567.

It may please your Majesty,

The 30th July, Anthony Rokesby, younger brother of Christopher Rokesby, who hath been so long detained prisoner in Scotland in the Castle of Spyny, where the Earl of Bothwell is, and hath been of long time declared unto me that this older brother, being earnestly pressed and solicited by Archibald Lindsay, Captain of the said Castle under the Bishop of Murray, and also by one Hepburn, kinsman to the Earl Bothwell, Laird of Ricarton, and likewise by one James Lindsay, servant to the said Bishop, and three of the Bishop's sons, named Hepburn, for the safeguard of his life could not but consent to the killing of the said Earl Bothwell, or the apprehension of him at such time as the matter aforesaid should be by the persons aforesaid attempted. Whereof the said Christopher Rokesby thought meet and convenient to advertise me, your Majesty's Ambassador, to the end your Majesty might make choice, whether you would have the said Earl Bothwell so killed, or otherwise, if it were so possible, delivered in some such sort as they could apprehend him into your Majesty's realm.

And for that I did not see any great facility or likelihood, upon examination of circumstances, for the apprehension of the said Earl, nor for the delivering of him alive into England, the said Earl being accompanied by twelve or fourteen desperate persons, which were principal doers at the murder of the late King, whose names I send your Majesty herewith, and also for that I did well know that it could not be agreeable to your princely nature, neither to your godly mind, to give your consent to any murder, albeit your Majesty could have been contented that the said Earl either by justice were executed, or otherwise the world rid of him by God's hand, for the inconvenience he hath brought the Queen your cousin

into, I did refuse to encourage the said Rokesby, or any of the accomplices to this conspiracy, to proceed in the same as they had declared unto me it was intended either for the murder of the said Earl, or for his apprehension.

Notwithstanding, I did advise the said Rokesby to repair to the Laird of Lethington to Stirling, and to declare unto him the state of the whole matter and what was intended by the persons before named; inasmuch as he and the Lords his associates had more interest in the cause than your Majesty had. The said Rokesby declared also unto me that the said conspirators intended to kill the old Bishop jointly with the Earl, being of the Earl's surname, and four score years old; an act surely very cruel and abominable, that the old man should end his life so miserably, having committed no crime; which did the rather move me to rid my hands of the whole matter. I do understand also by him that the Earl of Huntly is a practiser and a principal doer in this conspiracy, and yet he beareth his brother-in-law, the Earl Bothwell, very fair countenance; whose sister is not with her husband, as I wrote unto your Majesty heretofore.

May it please your Majesty, after the writing of the premises, my cousin Henry Middlemore returned from Stirling to this town; by whom I understand things have passed at Stirling as ensueth. The 29th day of July, as I wrote unto your Majesty in my last, the young Prince was crowned in the great Church of Stirling by the Bishop of Orkney, the Laird of Dun, and Superintendent of Lothian. Mr. Knox preached, and took a place of the Scripture forth of the Books of the Kings, where Joas was crowned very young, to treat on. Some ceremonies accustomably used at the coronation of their princes were omitted, and many retained. The oath usually to be ministered to the King of this realm at his coronation was taken by the Earl of Morton and the Laird of Dun on the Prince's behalf.

The Lords Lindsay and Ruthven did by their oath testify publicly that the Queen their Sovereign did resign willingly, without compulsion,[1] her estate and dignity to her son, and the government of the realm to such persons as by her several commissions she had named, which were there publicly read, together with her resignation to her son. After these ceremonies were accomplished, great feasts were made in the Castle to all the nobility and gentlemen. . . . To honour the said coronation and to testify great joy, this town of Edinburgh made that night, very near, I think a thousand bonfires; the Castle shot off twenty pieces of artillery, the people made great joy, dancings and acclamations; so as it appeareth they rejoiced more at the inauguration of the new Prince than they did sorrow at the deprivation of their Queen. . . .

And notwithstanding the advertisement given me by Anthony Rokesby, as I have advertised your Majesty by these presents, I do understand from Stirling that the Earl Bothwell hath killed one of the sons of the Bishop, and hath put forth of the Castle of Spyny all the Bishop's servants, committing the guard thereof to his own assured associates, whereof he hath had experience in this late murder. . . .

Throckmorton also assured Leicester that he had been the means of saving Mary's life in this grave crisis. "Whether it were fear, fury, or zeal, which carried these men to the end they become to, I know not; but I dare boldly affirm to your Lordship, albeit I could neither obtain access to this Queen nor procure her liberty with restitution of her to her estate, yet I have at this time preserved her life, to what continuance I am uncertain; sure I am there is

[1] Lethington, on the other hand, afterwards declared that when Lindsay was called upon to accompany the Regent to England, in order to bear witness to Mary's voluntary abdication, he refused, swearing a great oath, and vowing: "My Lord, if you cause me to go to England with you, I will spill the whole matter, for if they accuse me, on my conscience I cannot but confess the truth." Bannatyne's "Memorials," p. 131.

nothing shall so soon hasten her death as the doubt that these Lords may conceive of her redemption to liberty and authority by the Queen's Majesty's aid or by any other foreign succour." As for Leicester's advice that he should retire when he had foreknowledge of "these men's intents to their Sovereign's prejudice," that was easier said than done. "This also, my Lord, is worthy consideration," he added, "that I am in a town guarded by men of war which do visit all men that do enter and issue; I have no horses, but must depend upon these Lords' order for the furthering of me and my train; I cannot depart but at their pleasure; and when I am forth of Edinburgh I cannot safely return to Berwick, without they give me conduct, specially in this broken world."[1]

Throckmorton's statement that he had been the means of saving Mary's life is corroborated by Robert Melville's letter to Elizabeth on July 29. "To be plain with your Majesty," wrote Melville, "the greater number was so bent in rigour against my mistress, that extremity had been used if your Highness's Ambassador had not been present, who did utter both his wisdom and affection to her Majesty, that he only did put aside the present inconvenience; and did so procure the matter, as both life and honour have been preserved. And though he did not get licence to speak with her, he found means to let her know your Majesty's earnest desire to help her to liberty. For myself, I declared my charge from your Majesty—no small comfort in her grief. She would rather herself and the Prince were in your realm, than elsewhere in Christendom. He is crowned, by the Queen my Sovereign's own consent, on 29th July. She was advised so to do with her own benevolence rather than to suffer the rigour to take place which was meant by the greatest number, not only to make her uncapable to govern, but as well to pursue her both of life and honour. I feared this when last with your Highness, but could give no better advice for her weal than by gentle dealing with these Lords, in whose hands it does lie both to save and to spill. Seeing how the Prince may be in hazard, or by practices pass to some other country, I wish to God your Majesty would prevent the same by good means."[2]

[1] Stevenson's "Illustrations," p. 261.

[2] Scottish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. II., pp. 367-8.

CHAPTER IX

FROM ONE PRISON TO ANOTHER

Elizabeth Champions Mary's Cause—Murray's Return—His Interview with Guzman—Accusations Against Murray and Lethington—Cecil's Views — Elizabeth's Ardour Restrained — Treachery of Mary's Old Allies—Murray's Interviews with Mary—Confederate Lords Defy Elizabeth—Throckmorton Recalled—Exit Bothwell—Mary said to be Recovering her Spirits—Anglo-French Insincerities—Mary and George Douglas—Various Matrimonial Schemes for Her — Another Attempt to Escape — Fruitless Appeal to Catherine de' Medici—Her Pitiful Letter to Archbishop Beaton—George Douglas Plans her Flight—Her Escape—Gathering of the Clans—Langside—Mary's Flight—Why She Sought Safety in England—Elizabeth's Dilemma—Copies of the Casket Letters sent to England—Catherine de' Medici's Home-thrust—Mary at Carlisle—Disillusionment.

NEVER did Elizabeth appear so near to stretching out a helping hand to her kinswoman as in those early days of Mary's peril and humiliation. While the world at large shrugged its shoulders and declined to interfere, Elizabeth alone among the Princes of Christendom championed Mary's cause against her rebellious subjects. No doubt her championship was more largely inspired by her faith in what she regarded as the divine right of sovereignty than by genuine affection and pity; but she probably persuaded herself, as, unfortunately for Mary, she persuaded that unhappy Queen, that she was perfectly sincere in her motives when she scorned to triumph over her rival's downfall, and assured her of her support. "The more she considers the rigorous and unlawful proceedings of those Lords against their Sovereign lady," she wrote to Throckmorton, "the more she is determined to relieve the Queen her sister, and is determined to spare no charge to impeach their further proceedings. . . . For, as she is a Princess, if they continue to keep her in prison, or touch her life in person, she will not fail to revenge it to the uttermost on such as shall be in any wise guilty thereof."[1] But the Lords had gone too far to retreat; and it only needed

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 378.

the return of Murray now to complete the revolution. Murray was already on his way home from France, where the French had tried in vain to bind him to their interests. On passing through London he had his memorable interview with the Spanish Ambassador, in which Murray disclosed the fact that he already knew of the existence of at least one incriminating letter from Mary to Bothwell (see pp. 176–7). The rest of the interview is described as follows:

GUZMAN DE SILVA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *August* 2, 1567.

The Earl of Murray went to Scotland on the last day of July, after having been with the Queen at Windsor. I visited him to try to discover something of his intention, and having discussed matters with reference to a discourse of his when he passed here on his way to France, he began to express sorrow at the action of the Lords against the Queen, and said he could not fail to strive for her liberty, because, beside being her brother, he was much beholden to her, but still, as he told me before, Bothwell's business and the King's murder had much grieved him, and had caused him to leave the country. He returned now to see what could be done in these troubles, although he feared they would be difficult to mend. If he had his friends collected and harmonious, something could be done, but many of these who were concerned in the Queen's detention were his closest adherents, and besides this, his lands and those of the other friends of the Queen were distant, which increased the difficulty, and if he came in force to liberate her he would have to pass by Stirling, which was in the hands of the Earl of Mar. The passage there was by a deep and broad river, and boats could not be used if resistance were offered; the bridge also being impracticable, as it was guarded by Mar. Edinburgh, the principal fortress in the country, together with the castle, was in the hands of the Lords, and the castle where the Queen is was strong, as it was in the

middle of so large a lake that not a single culverin in the country could even reach it, much less batter it, so that it could be held by fifty soldiers. All these things he said made the liberation of the Queen difficult, if it were undertaken against the will of those who held her, and it could only be attempted with great caution and adroitness, in consequence of the danger the Lords would be in if they let her free in a way that would enable her to be avenged on them at any time. If in respect of their own safety the Lords would only consent to the Queen's liberation on such conditions that she should have no power or authority in her own kingdom, she would be ill-able to brook such terms, she having been a Sovereign. It was surrounded with difficulties, but he would do his best to find some means by which she should remain Queen, but without sufficient liberty to do them any harm, nor marry against the will of her Council and Parliament, whilst punishing at the same time the authors of the King's murder. I told him that the business might be remedied if Bothwell were put where the Queen is, and if he were captured it would be easy to settle things. He thought so too, as he said, because they could kill him, and the Queen would then be free of him, and they would be safe, and would not suffer the dishonour and shame of seeing their Queen married to a man who had another wife living.

By his manner of speech, and the difficulties he raised, it seemed to me that, although he always returned to his desire to help the Queen, this is not altogether his intention. He repeated how displeased he was at the action of the Lords in taking the Queen, which would appear to your Majesty, the King of France, and other Princes a bad precedent, and I replied that nobody could think it was a good one, much less Kings, to see subjects so insolent to their Sovereign, even if grave reason existed, and still more so in the present case.

I said that her confessor had told me that, as

regarded the King's murder, she had no knowledge whatever of it, and had been greatly grieved thereat; for this reason, as he was a person of high authority, and knew the feelings of the country, he could arrange matters better than anyone else, since the Queen would trust him as her brother, and the Lords would confide in him as a friend. He could thus do the good work of tranquillising the country, and avoid its ruin, which could not fail to distress your Majesty in consequence of your affection for the Queen. . . . He was deeply grieved for the honour of his father's house, and he could not tell how the matter would end, from all of which I gather that the Lords can depend upon him better than his sister can, although he says he will do his best for her. I am more inclined to believe that he will do it for himself if he finds a chance, as he is a Scotsman and a heretic, and was not without some idea of promotion before these affairs; much more now. He made me many offers of service to your Majesty, for which I thanked him, expressing great affection for him, in case it may be necessary at any future time to approach him. . . .

Whether Murray and Lethington were the evil geniuses of the plot, or loyal-hearted patriots whose motives were purely disinterested, will probably be disputed to the end of the chapter; but already some very decided views on the subject were being circulated among the Catholics, as well as among the Protestants:

THE BISHOP OF MONDOVI TO THE CARDINAL OF ALESSANDRIA.

[Father Pollen's "*Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots.*"]

MONDOVI, *August* 5, 1567.

This week I have received a letter from Father Edmund, the Scot. Although of the date of the 24th of June, he mentions certain particulars which throw light on the progress and objects of the rebels. For instance he notes that the Queen is imprisoned in the castle of the island of the lake Lochleven,

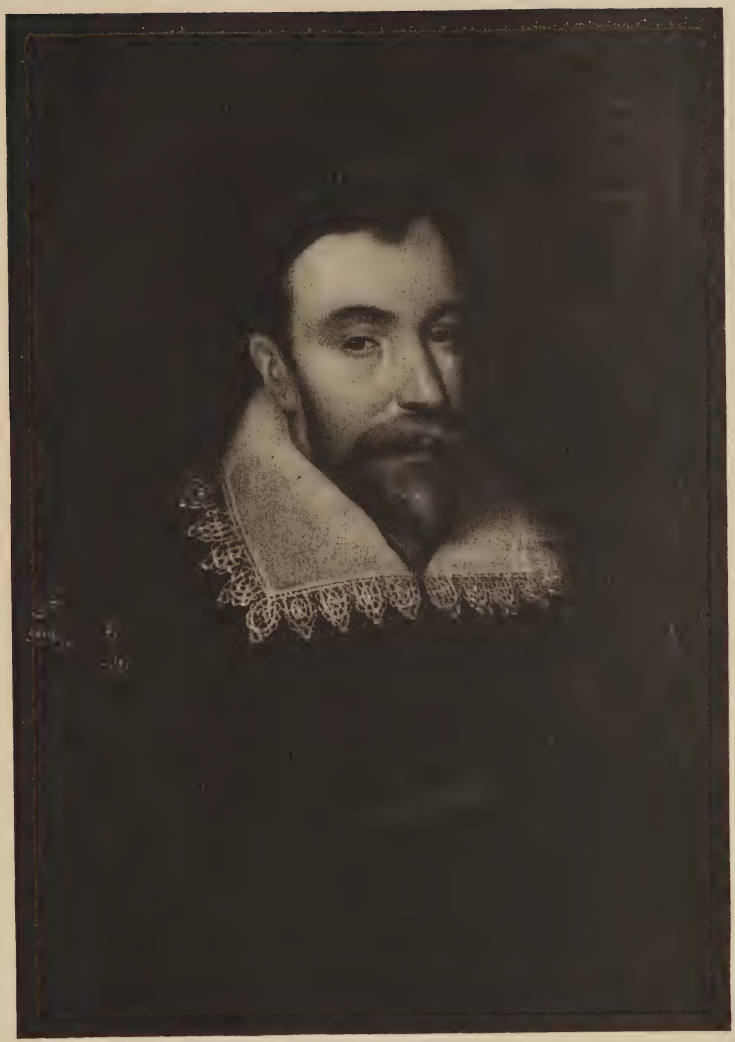

Photo T. & R. Annan & Sons.

WILLIAM MAITLAND OF LETHINGTON.

From the Lauderdale Portrait.

which castle belongs to the Earl of Murray's half-brother on his mother's side. Hence he very naturally concluded that the Earl himself was a participator in the rebellion, and absented himself partly from fear of the Earl of Bothwell, partly in order to be able to maintain his favour with the Queen and her party, whatever might happen. By this absence he has not merely been able to play the part of an innocent man averse to the late tumults, but he has also managed by his pretended services to win over both sides in order to mount the throne as he had planned. What has helped him most has been the crafty counsel of Secretary Lethington, a man believed to be so astute and unprincipled that in all the late treasons he is thought to have thrown the stone (as they say) without seeming to move his hand. It was impossible, humanly speaking, to expect good there, while he enjoyed the Queen's favour.

Meanwhile I desired to send your Eminence Father Hay's letter, in the hope that now that the wounds of the unhappy realm are bare to the quick, his Holiness may some day, with the help of divine grace, set his hand to a salutary reform.

The Pope, however, as we have already shown, had abandoned Mary to her fate, and only Elizabeth among the ruling powers was still making any apparent endeavour to save her. It was an embarrassing situation for Cecil, who, like most English Protestants, sided with the Scottish rebels. How warily he had to act may be gathered from the following letter, which also shows that at the English Court at least both Murray and Lethington were regarded as Mary's best safeguards in Scotland:

SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO SIR NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

August 11, 1567.

This afternoon, about five o'clock, the Queen sent for me hastily and entered into a great offensive

speech that nothing was thought of for her to do to revenge the Queen of Scots' imprisonment and deliver her. I answered as warily as I could: but she increased so in anger against these Lords, that in good earnest she began to devise revenge by war. Nothing I said satisfied her but I must in all haste make a letter, if you were come away (which I said altered matters) to return and do the message. I said at last, this might bring the Lords to desperation, and if the worst happened to the Queen, her Majesty would be very sorry, yet malice would say, she did it to urge them to rid away the Queen. Whereon she agreed I might use the words in the very last sentence of the letter. And even as I entered with it for her signature, your packet of 5th instant came —truly with a good opportunity—for she saw there my reason largely exposed, and so she began to pause. But this evening communing with my Lords of Pembroke and Leicester and me, she will have the letter sent, and me to write thus—that you use consideration to whom to open her earnestness, specially choosing Murray and Lethington, in whom she reposes most trust to preserve the Queen. I see two special causes move her Majesty, one, that she be not thought to the world partial against the Queen : the other, that by this example none of her own be encouraged.

Here is the timely letter referred to by Cecil :

SIR NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

EDINBURGH, *August* 5, 1567.

Seeing that your Majesty's instructions tended to the Queen's enlargement, and to conserve her from deprivation of estate or life—(and the one is now irrevocable)—I must seek the best means, under your correction, to preserve her life, lest these men in desperation or choler bereave her of that also. And therefore shall not proceed so precisely with them for her enlargement and estate, under your instructions (seeing what is past and what I have done while

there was time), meaning (as a matter most necessary) « direct my whole travail to put off the danger of taking away her life. I perceive however they defer my audience for the others' absence; their special matter is to have Murray with them before dealing with me. I told your Majesty the Queen was straiter kept—which is not yet put in use: but she looks for it daily. The occasions I hear be these: by one means or other she has won the favour and goodwill of most part of the house, as well men as women, whereby she had means of great intelligence, and was in some towardness (it was feared) to have escaped. Another cause was that the Lords wish her to relinquish Bothwell for husband, whereof I do not now despair so much as I did heretofore. I am not sorry to see the Lords so earnestly mind this matter of divorce, wherein I concur with them, trusting that if brought to pass, they shall be more open to reason in the matter of the Queen's destruction. . . . The Lords take the doings of my Lord of Bedford somewhat strange, for some under his charge (though I think not altogether by his order) have run two forays in the Merse, Lord Hume's wardenry, who is a principal man among them. And as nothing can more hasten this Queen's death than their suspicion of your Majesty's intent to put them in a strait, it may please you to order my Lord not to exasperate them till I may see further into their doings.

Elizabeth seems to have consulted the Spanish Ambassador more than she did Cecil in these critical affairs. For once she did not favour the familiar policy of procrastination which hitherto had served her ends so well, but was earnestly advised to continue on her old safe lines by Guzman, who feared more than anything that a false step on Elizabeth's part might throw Scotland into the arms of France. His advice, as well as Throckmorton's letters, helped to check her ardour. She now relied chiefly upon the Earl of Murray to see to it that Mary was restored to liberty:

GUZMAN DE SILVA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *August* 9, 1567.

. . . The Queen [Elizabeth] assured me that she was satisfied with the Earl of Murray as regards his attempts to liberate the Queen, and Lord Robert tells me the same. Robert shows himself in favour of the Scottish Queen. When I told the Queen that I should be glad if Murray's intentions were so good, but was in doubt about them, she said perhaps I was right, in consequence of religious affairs. The Earl of Leicester tells me that the Queen of Scotland's prison is made closer, and they have taken away the liberty she had of walking about the castle, placing her in a tower with no companion but two women. They had changed the guards and placed new ones, and he thinks that matters will not stop here, seeing the way in which the Lords are proceeding. Among other things Murray told me that there were some Catholics among the Lords, but they must be few, and deceived by the rest into the idea that their action is for the good of the country and the punishment of the murderers, and no other reason. The real reason is that they should not be disturbed in their liberty and in the possession of the ecclesiastical properties which they have usurped, and any help the people here may have given them is to the same end, as they have always feared that trouble might come to them from that quarter, the Queen of Scots being a Catholic, and nearly all the people in the north of England professing the same religion. This Queen spoke very harshly of the Scottish heretical preachers for saying that the people might criticise the evil done by their superiors, whereupon I repeated what I have often told her that these people only seek their own liberty and freedom from authority, and urged upon her again the need for providing a remedy in time to brook this fury of the people. She replied in a way that showed she was willing to consider it, and repeated certain things that the Earl of Arundel had

said about it. I spoke to the Earl next day and told him not to avoid following the matter up, as the Queen was pleased at what he had said. He was willing, but seeing the laws which have recently been passed on these matters, he said it was dangerous to put oneself forward with the Queen in such conversations.

Murray did not reach Edinburgh until August 11—not a moment too soon to save Mary from the increasing fury of the preachers and the mob, if not from the combined cunning and treachery of the Lords, Protestants and Catholics alike. Two days before he arrived Throckmorton sent Elizabeth a letter which even now it is only possible to read with a burning sense of shame that men could be such mean, cowardly traitors as Mary's chief supporters now proved themselves to be, if Tullibardine and Lethington are to be believed. Apparently the chief objection which Mary's old allies had to joining the Confederates was that Mary was allowed to live, and might some day escape to punish them as they deserved. They also feared, as mentioned on p. 277, that the rebellious Lords would appoint Darnley's brother to inherit the Crown should the infant Prince die without issue, thereby abrogating the claims of the Hamiltons as next in order of succession.

SIR NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

EDINBURGH, *August* 9, 1567.

On 6th August Morton, Glencairn, and Mar, with Hume and Sempill, arrived here, and next day Atholl, Ruthven and Secretary Lethington. Though under your Majesty's pleasure, signified by Mr. Secretary from Windsor on 31st July, I abstained from conference with them, yet on the morning of said 7th day the Laird of Tullibardine, brother to the Countess of Mar, came to visit me, who is of these Lords' privy council and prevails very much with his brother-in-law Mar. By him I understood that the Queen was in great danger of her life, for the people

of the realm (viz., such as had assisted in this action) found no surety otherwise. Another cause he alleges to hasten her death, viz., that the Hamiltons, Argyll, Huntly, and their faction, forebore to join these Lords, reasoning thus for themselves: that the Queen living, it could not be but she should come to liberty one time or other, and then if they which had all this while stood for her liberty, should now revolt and conjoin with her adversaries, they should both lose thanks for their well-doing in former proceedings, and incur as much danger as they which had been first and deepest in this action against her; and consequently neither have honour, surety, nor trust on either side. For though other men's forfeitures should be grievous, none should be so endangered as they which were the greatest possessors, and had the honour to be the nearest to the crown of Scotland. They said if these Lords would so proceed, and provide for themselves and such as would join with them, that they should come to no dangerous reckoning (meaning thereby the dispatch of the Queen, for they said they could not honour two sons) it should not be long ere they should accord and run all one course.

I answered that it was very unlike that the Hamiltons and their party, hitherto so dutiful and honourable, should now deface all with so shameful an intent, as to seek the destruction of their Sovereign, whom they had pretended chiefly to preserve, and had manifested this their good meaning to all the world, and namely to your Majesty and to the French King, unto whom they had sent their band subscribed with their names for this purpose! I could not think, I said, that noblemen could have such double faces, and such traitorous minds! I said also they might make a better profit of the Queen's life than they could of her death; she being divorced from Bothwell, or the marriage dissolved by Bothwell's death, which was like to ensue if justice proceeded: that then either some son of the Duke of Châtelherault

(as he had divers marriable) and likewise the Earl of Argyll, having a brother to be married also, might make a better bargain by marrying of the Queen, than to seek her destruction.

Tullibardine said: "My Lord Ambassador, these matters which you speak of have been in question among them, but now they see not so good an outgate by any of those devices, as by the Queen's death. For she being taken away, they account but the little King betwixt them and home, which may die. They love not the Queen, and they know she hath no great fancy to any of them, and by thus much they fear her the more, because she is young, and may have many children, which is the thing they would be rid of."

I said: "My Lord, you are a gentleman of honour, and worthy of credit, but you must give me leave to doubt of what you say, because I have some reason to think otherwise of those Lords."

He answered: "My Lord Ambassador, I have no great acquaintance with you, but never take me for a true gentleman if this be not true that I tell you, and that the Bishop of St. Andrews and the Abbot of Kilwinning have proposed this unto us within these forty-eight hours."

I used the best persuasions I could, and at good length—some of the law of God; some of the law of man—some for the honour of their country, and that of himself and his friends. Lastly (knowing the man's affection, and of what faction he is) I used arguments to keep the Hamiltons from the succession of the Crown by the continuation of the line of the Stuarts, which could not be by any means, the young Prince dying, if the Queen were taken away. In the end (if I be not much deceived) I have brought him, the Laird of Tullibardine, to abhor the Queen's destruction.

That afternoon Lethington called on Throckmorton, and confirmed Tullibardine's statement that the perfidious Arch-

bishop of St. Andrews, and the Abbot of Kilwinning, had sent offers that morning to the effect "that if we who have dealt in this action would consent to take the Queen's life, all the Lords who hold out and lie aloof from us would come and conjoin with us within these two days, . . . and likewise the Earl of Huntly hath sent Duncombe Forbeash within this hour to conclude with us upon the same ground." On the other hand, in reply to Throckmorton's inquiries, the Archbishop, together with Arbroath, assured him on the 19th that their party had bound themselves "by all honest means," to seek their Sovereign's liberty, "willing also the preservation of their native Prince, and punishment of the horrible murder, with safety for them that acted against her Majesty." They doubted not but that Throckmorton's Sovereign would concur and help them in performing the same.[1] This, being interpreted, meant they sincerely hoped that Elizabeth would supply them with the necessary funds. Elizabeth was inclined to encourage them, in spite of Throckmorton's warnings. "As for the Hamiltons and their faction," wrote the English Ambassador to Cecil on receiving their letter by the hands of handsome John Hamilton, "their condition be such, their behaviour so inordinate, the most of them so unable, their living so vicious, their fidelity so fickle, their party so weak, as I count it lost whatsoever is bestowed upon them. Shortly you are like to have with you a handsome young man of that surname named John Hamilton, to procure to set you on fire, to get some money among them to countenance their doings, which serve little for our purpose. The Lord Herries is the cunning horseleach and the wisest of the whole faction; but as the Queen of Scotland saith of him, there is nobody can be sure of him; he taketh pleasure to bear all the world in hand. We have good occasion to be well ware of him." [2]

Lethington had put Throckmorton on his guard against these needy Hamiltons. "There be some among them," he had said, "who are content to practise with any foreign prince to get money, but as to shedding of blood among themselves they will never come to it."[3] What chance,

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., pp. 284-5.
[2] Stevenson's "Selections," p. 282.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 268.

what hope, had Mary, even of a fair trial, in the midst of such men? Her life undoubtedly hung by a thread until Murray appeared on the scene, and took a firm hold of affairs. He probably saved Scotland from civil war, as well as Mary for her more shameful death at Fotheringhay. In Edinburgh he was welcomed "with great joy of all the people," as Throckmorton informed Elizabeth; though the English Ambassador was by no means pleased to find him accompanied by M. Lignerolles, representing the Court of France. "The French do not take greatly to heart how this Queen speeds, whether she lives or dies," he wrote on the same day to Cecil. "The mark they shoot at is to renew their old league."[1] Four days later Murray had his first interview with his imprisoned sister in Lochleven Castle, continuing it on the following day, and according to Throckmorton's graphic narrative in the letter which follows, behaving himself "rather like a ghostly father unto her than like a counsellor":

SIR NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[Keith's "*Church and State in Scotland*," Vol. II.]

EDINBURGH, *August* 20, 1567.

. . . At the Earls of Murray, Atholl, and Morton's arrival at Lochleven, they went immediately to the Queen, who had conference with them altogether; notwithstanding the Queen broke forth with great passion and weeping, retiring the Earl of Murray apart, who had with her long talk in the hearing of no person. That talk, as I do learn (which continued two hours until supper-time), was nothing pleasant to the Queen, and chiefly for that the Earl of Murray talked nothing so frankly with her as she desired, but used covert speech, and such as she judged he would not discover neither the good nor the ill he had conceived of her, nor meant unto her. After supper she desired to talk with the Earl of Murray again; and everybody being retired, they conferred together until one of the clock after midnight: in which second communication, the said Earl did plainly, without dis-

[1] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 317.

guising, discover unto the Queen all his opinion of her misgovernment, and laid before her all such disorders as either might touch her conscience, her honour, or surety.

I do hear that he behaved himself rather like a ghostly father unto her than like a counsellor. Sometimes the Queen wept bitterly, sometimes she acknowledged her unadvisedness and misgovernment, some things she did confess plainly, some things she did excuse, some things she did extenuate. In conclusion, the Earl of Murray left her that night in hope of nothing but of God's mercy, willing her to seek that as her chiefest refuge. And so they parted.

The next morning betime she desired to speak with her brother; he repaired unto her. They began where they left over night, and after those his reprehensions, he used some words of consolation unto her, tending to this end, that he would assure her of her life, and as much as lay in him, the preservation of her honour. As for her liberty, it lay not in his power; neither was it good for her to seek it, nor presently for her to have it, for many respects.

Whereupon she took him in her arms and kissed him, and showed herself very well satisfied, requiring him in any ways not to refuse the Regency of the Realm, but to accept it as her desire.

"For by this means," said she, "my son shall be preserved, my realm well governed, and I in safety, and in towardness to enjoy more safety and liberty that way than I can any other." Whereupon the Earl declared many reasons why he should refuse it. The Queen again replied with earnest intercession, and prayed him to prefer her reasons and requests before his own, which were particular. At length he accorded unto her the acceptation of the Regency.

Then the Queen required him to leave no means undone to bring all the forts of the realm into his own disposing, and likewise to take her jewels and things of value which were hers, into his custody, offering unto the said Earl her writings, the use of her name

and authority, to bring all these things to pass. He showed himself very unwilling to have the custody of her jewels. Then the Earl of Murray requiring the Lords Lindsay, Ruthven and Lochleven to treat the Queen with gentleness, with liberty, and all other good usage, he took his leave of her; and then began a new fit of weeping, which being appeased, she embraced him very lovingly, kissed him, and sent her blessing unto the Prince her son by him.

Since whose departure from her she hath written a letter of her own hand unto the said Earl, requiring him to take her jewels, and all she hath of value, into his custody; for otherwise she is sure neither she nor her son shall have good of them. Thus much, and it please your Majesty, concerning my Lord of Murray's proceedings at Lochleven, saving that I did omit to declare how the Queen did amicably take her leave of the Earls of Atholl and Morton with whom she had some talk, but not very much; unto whom, amongst other things, she had these words: "My Lords, you have had experience of my severity, and of the end of it; I pray you also let me find, that you have learned by me to make an end of yours, or at least that you can make it final."

The 16th day the Earls aforesaid went from Lochleven to Stirling, where they remained until the 19th of this month, what day they returned to this town in the evening. That night I sent unto my Lord of Murray, requiring him that I might speak with his Lordship and the Laird of Lethington together quietly. The Earl sent me word that he would not fail in the morning but come to my lodging, requiring me to hold him excused for that night, not finding himself well at ease. The next morning, being the 20th of this present, the said Lord came to my lodging, and had these words: "My Lord Ambassador, whether will you that I should make declaration to you of my doings at Lochleven, or have you anything to say to me?" I required him to declare his proceedings with the Queen his sister, and

how they had agreed. The said Earl made declaration unto me of all matters particularly as is before written, save that he spake not so confidently of the assurance of the Queen's life, as is before specified, but treated with her of that matter with this caution, that for his own part, according to his many obligations, he had a desire to spend his own life to save her life, and would employ all that was in him for that purpose; but it was not in his power only, the Lords and others having interest in the matter. Notwithstanding he said: "Madam, I will declare unto you which be the occasions that may put you in jeopardy, and which be they that may preserve you. First, for your peril, these be they: your own practices to disturb the quiet of your realm and the reign of your son; to enterprise to escape from where you are, to put yourself at liberty; to animate any of your subjects to troubles or disobedience; the Queen of England or the French King to molest this realm either with their war, or with war intestine, by your procurement or otherwise; and your own persisting in this inordinate affection with the Earl Bothwell.

"For your preservation, these be they: your acknowledging your faults to God, with lamentation of your sins past, so as it may appear you do detest your former life, and do intend a better conversation, a more modest behaviour, and an apparent show that you do abhor the murder of your husband, and do mislike your former life with Bothwell. Lastly, an evident demonstration that you mind no revenge to these Lords and others which have sought your reformation and preservation."

Further the said Earl declared unto me that the Queen his sister sent me her hearty commendations, and required me to thank your Majesty for your good affection to her, whereof you had made good proof in sending me hither. And as she was beholding to your Majesty for this your favour employed for her relief already, so she desired your Majesty to be pleased, and to procure that she may live with you in

England in what sort and manner it should please your Majesty to appoint; for truly she had no desire to live in her own country, nor any other but there in your realm.

The said Earl declared also unto me, that he never saw the Queen in better health, nor in better point. . . . I did require him that I might have some convenient time this day to declare to him and the Laird of Lethington such commission as your Majesty has given me in charge. The Earl of Murray answered: "We must now serve God, for the preacher tarrieth for us, and after the sermon we must advise of a time to confer with you." And so the said Earl took his leave of me.

Though Murray's return had removed the immediate danger which theatened Mary's life, there was less prospect than ever of Throckmorton's mission meeting with success, now that M. Lignerolles was on the spot, to be played off by the astute Confederate Lords against the threats of the English Queen. They were growing tired of Elizabeth's continual hectoring, though Throckmorton did his best to scare them with the war-like messages which she put into his mouth, bidding him to declare these threats, as she wrote in her letter of August 11, "as roundly and sharply as he can, for sure she is he cannot do so with more vehemency than she means and intends."[1] Whereupon, Throckmorton, as he told Elizabeth on August 21, declared her Majesty's mind both to Murray and Lethington "in as good sort as I could set it forth"; but it was all to no purpose:

It was by them (he wrote) thereunto answered as follows: They never meant harm (God they took to witness) neither to the Queen's person nor to her honour: They do not forget the manifold benefits they have received of her, and therefore their great affection always borne unto her cannot be altogether extinguished; yea they be so far from meaning her harm, that they wish she were Queen of all the world. Presently she is none otherwise to be satisfied, than a very sick person in an extreme disease is to be

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 378.

pleased in inordinate appetites: "For," said the Laird of Lethington, "one sick of a vehement burning fever will refuse all things which may do him good, and require all things which may do him harm; and therefore the appetite of such a person is not to be followed." This matter doth carry with it many parts, some concerning the Queen's person, some the King her son, some the realm, and some the Lords and gentlemen's sureties; and when they shall see a moderation of the Queen their Sovereign's passion, they mean nothing but well unto her, and she shall have nothing but good at their hand. There is no way to do her so much harm as to precipitate matters before they be ripe, or to put these Lords to a strait; for so against their wills they shall be constrained to do that they would not do.

It is evident they have been contented hitherto to be condemned, as it were, of all princes, strangers, and namely of your Majesty, being charged of grievous and infamous titles, as to be noted rebels, traitors, seditious, ingrate, and cruel; all which they suffer and bear upon their backs, because they will not justify themselves, nor proceed in anything that might touch the Queen their Sovereign's honour. But in case they be with these defamations continually oppressed, or with the force, aid, and practices of other princes (and namely of your Majesty) put in danger, or to an extremity, they shall be compelled to deal otherwise with the Queen than they intend, or than they desire: "For my Lord Ambassador," said he, "you may be sure we will not lose our lives, have our lands forfeited, and be reputed rebels through the world, seeing we have the means to justify ourselves; and if there be no remedy but that the Queen your Sovereign will make war, and nourish war against us, we can be but sorry for it, and do the best we may. But to put you out of doubt, we had rather endure the fortune thereof, and suffer the sequel, than to put the Queen to liberty now in this mood that she is in, being resolved to retain Bothwell and to fortify

him, to hazard the life of her son, to put the realm in peril, and to forfeit all these noblemen. You must think, my Lord Ambassador, your wars are not unknown to us; you will burn our Borders, and we will do the like to yours; and whensoever you invade us, we are sure France will aid us, for their league standeth fast, and they are bound by their league to defend us. And as to the practices which you have in hand to nourish dissension among us, we do overlook your doings, and foresee the end well enough; for either the Hamiltons, and such as you practise withal, will take your silver, and laugh you to scorn when you have done, and agree with us (for we have in our hands to make the accord when we will), or else you will make them attempt some such act as they and their house shall repent it for ever. The Queen's Majesty your Sovereign hath connexed together with the Queen's liberty, and her restitution to her dignity, the preservation of the King the Queen's son, the punishment of the murder, and the safety of these Lords. Many things have been done, much time spent, and strange language used (as you have done in this your last commission), charging us, another prince's subjects (for we know not the Queen's Majesty to be our Sovereign), to set the Queen at liberty; but nothing hath been done by her Majesty either for the apprehension of Bothwell and the murderers for the safeguard of the King, or for the safety of these Lords. Will the Queen your mistress arm two or three ships to apprehend Bothwell? Pay a thousand soldiers for a time to reduce all the forts of this realm to the King's obedience? Then we will say, doing this, that her Majesty mindeth as well these other matters spoken of, as the Queen's liberty."

I directed then my speech to my Lord of Murray: "Sir, you have no such interest in this matter as these men have, for you have committed no such excess; and therefore I trust this answer given me by the Laird of Lethington, though it may be the mind of the other Lords his associates, yet I trust it be not

agreeable to yours." The Earl said: "Sir Nicholas, truly me thinketh you have heard reason at the Laird of Lethington's hand, and for mine own part, though I were not here at the doings past, yet surely I must allow of them; and do mean (God willing) to take such part as they do. And seeing the Queen and they have laid upon me the charge of the Regency (a burden which I would gladly have eschewed), I do mean to wear my life in defence of their action, and will either reduce all men to obedience in the King's name, or it shall cost me my life. And if the Queen your Sovereign do look into the world, she will find more profit for her and her realm to fortify and assist us, than to be against us; for though we may have cover by her means, yet if the matter be well considered, those which her Majesty doth fortify against us will bring little commodity to her or England."[1]

Seeing that it no longer accorded with her dignity to keep Throckmorton in Edinburgh in the face of such open defiance, Elizabeth ordered him to return. He obeyed the summons with a thankful heart, after a farewell interview with the Confederate Lords, which, if it yielded no better results, at least afforded the worthy Throckmorton a fine opportunity of proving his incorruptibility:

SIR NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

BERWICK, *September* 1, 1567.

. . . On August 30, after the sermon, I accompanied Murray to his lodging, where all the Lords were assembled, and Lethington in the name of all, made a summary repetition of their proceedings since the beginning of this matter, ending with a digression on the great favour and relief they had received from her Majesty, when oppressed by strangers. Then Murray at great length set forth his grief if her Majesty thought otherwise of him than well: for there was no

[1] Keith's "Church and State in otland," Vol. II., pp. 742–4.

Prince next to those which he owed his chiefest duty unto, loss of whose favour would trouble him more. Then Morton said: "I . . . pray you to render mine humble thanks to her Majesty for the favour I received in the time of my trouble in her realm." Then Murray, Atholl, Morton, Mar, Glencairn, and Lethington led me into a little cabinet, where they had prepared a present of gilt plate, as I esteemed it, better than two hundred marks, which Murray asked me to accept by way of present from the King. I declined to accept any present but from their Sovereign the Queen, but as from the King (whom I took to be Prince) I could receive none, seeing he had attained to that name by injuring the Queen his mother. The Lords required me to desist from such matters, as but breeding contention to no purpose, and earnestly pressed me again to take it: which (to be short) I refused, and so we parted (as it seemed to me) they not best pleased. Lethington accompanied me to my lodging, persisting I should change my mind, but I would not yield, and took leave.

To Murray's credit be it added that he turned a deaf ear to the blandishments of the French Court in favour of a French alliance. He secured his authority by prudent means which gradually reduced most Scotsmen to obedience, and waited patiently for Elizabeth's support until such time as he thought he could justify the continued imprisonment of Mary. He failed, however, to capture Bothwell, who was last heard of with five ships and 300 men in the Orkneys, where, Throckmorton was told before he left, "the country begins to lean to him." Throckmorton had previously reported that Bothwell was determined "to use the sea for his uttermost refuge," and "to allure the pirates of all countries unto him."[1] Kirkcaldy was sent to the Orkneys after him, and for once there seems to have been something like sincere determination in the chase. "Although I be no good seaman," wrote Kirkcaldy to Bedford before starting on August 10, "I promise unto your Lordship, if I may once

[1] Stevenson's "Selections," p. 240.

encounter with him, either by sea or land, he shall either carry me with him, or else I shall bring him dead or quick to Edinburgh."[1]

As luck would have it, he failed just when the prize seemed within his reach. "Even when they had, as it were, his whole ships in their hand," wrote Murray to Throckmorton in announcing Bothwell's escape, "Grange's ship struck on a blind rock, and had much ado to save men and ordnance, so occupying the others that the enemy escaped."[2] Robert Melville added that Bothwell chanced to be on land on the Scottish coast when Grange's ship came to grief. Bothwell, seeing the whole manner, took boat and recovered his ship, and though they chased him for sixty miles he disappeared in the direction of Norway.[3] Thus ignominiously passed the reckless Borderer out of Mary's life and the blackest chapter of Scotland's history. Failing to appear before Parliament in answer to its summons, he was attainted of treason, and his lands and goods were forfeited to the King. When news reached Scotland that he had fallen into Danish hands Murray sent a herald to require his delivery, that he might suffer according to his deserts. But Frederic II. of Denmark declined to give him up. "As Bothwell was lately taken and lodged in our Castle of Bergen," he wrote to James VI. on December 30, "and thence brought to Denmark, and assures us that he was lawfully acquitted in Scotland, and moreover was driven hither by tempest, we have thought it will satisfy you if we keep him in safe custody till full inquiry be made by the next assembly of our nobles."[4] Bothwell never regained his freedom. According to Melville, he became insane before his death some ten years later, but this story has been disputed. His so-called "Testament," declaring Mary innocent of all share in the murder of Darnley, is generally regarded as a forgery.

Meantime Mary remained in her lonely prison in Loch-leven, buoyed up by the hope that, failing her release, she would some day be able to effect her escape. We have already seen how soon she exercised her personal charms to

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 378.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 394.
[3] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 341.
[4] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 399.

win the favour of her gaolers (p. 265); and at the end of September she seemed, according to Drury, to be recovering more of her old spirits. "She waxes fat," wrote that correspondent to Cecil, "and instead of choler makes show of mirth; and has already drawn divers to pity her, who before envied her, and would do her evil—the Regent's mother for one."[1] A few days earlier Murray sent word to Bedford to somewhat similar effect. "I assure you," he said, that she is in as good health of person, as lusty, and to the utter appearance to us, as merrily disposed as at any time since her Highness's arrival in this realm."[2] Elizabeth and Catherine de' Medici played a hollow farce of discussing joint action on Mary's behalf, when M. Pasquier arrived from the French Court for that purpose:

In conversation with the Queen [Elizabeth] the latter expressed her opinion that since fair words had availed nothing with them, it would be necessary to deal with the business in a way that if the Lords did not do as they were asked they should be threatened with an appeal to arms. Pasquier thought this ought not to be done unless it were to be carried into effect, and he said that merely verbal threats would only result in further embroiling the business with a loss of dignity.[3]

It is not difficult to understand the feelings of the Queen Mother when she read the following letter, believing as she did that the religious troubles in France upon which she was being commiserated had been industriously fomented by Elizabeth herself. Catherine's sarcastic retort, when Mary found herself a prisoner in Elizabeth's domains, will be found on p. 335.

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE QUEEN REGENT OF FRANCE.

[Strickland's "*Lives of the Queens of England.*"]

HAMPTON COURT, *October* 16, 1567.

Having learned by your letter, Madame, of which M. Pasquier is the bearer, your honourable

[1] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., pp. 349–50.
[2] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 395.
[3] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 677.

intention, and that of the King, my brother, on the part of my desolate cousin, the Queen of Scots, I rejoice me very much to see that one prince takes to heart the wrongs done to another, having a hatred to that metamorphosis, where the head is removed to the foot, and the heels hold the highest place. I promise you, Madame, that even if my consanguinity did not constrain me to wish her all honour, her example would seem too terrible for neighbours to behold, and for all princes to hear. These evils often resemble the noxious influence of some baleful planet, which, commencing in one place, without the good power, might well fall in another. Not that (God be thanked) I have any doubts on my part, wishing that neither the King my good brother, nor any other prince had more cause to chastise their bad subjects, than I have to avenge myself on mine, which are always as faithful to me as I could desire; notwithstanding which I never fail to condole with those princes who have cause to be angry. Even those troubles that formerly began with the King [of France] have vexed me before now.

M. Pasquier (as I believe) thinks I have no French, by the passions of laughter into which he throws me, by the formal precision with which he speaks, and expresses himself.

Beseeching you, Madame, if I can at this time do you any pleasure, you will let me know, that I may acquit myself as a good friend on your part. In the meantime, I cannot cease to pray the Creator to guard the King and yourself from your bad subjects, and to have you always in His holy care.

In haste, at Hampton Court, this 16th of October.

Your good sister and cousin,

ELIZABETH.

The religious troubles in France soon overshadowed the fate of Mary in the minds of both the English and French Courts. Left to her own resources, Mary won the whole-hearted devotion of young George Douglas, a mere stripling of eighteen, half-brother of the Regent, and not to be confused with Morton's illegitimate kinsman of the same name,

who, as Martin Hume says, was "steeped in every crime." It was through young George Douglas that she was to make her escape in the following May, and already, in October, rumours were circulating regarding their intimacy. "The suspicion of the over great familiarity between the Queen here and Mr. Douglas, brother of the Laird of Lochleven," wrote Drury to Cecil on October 28, "increases more and more, and worse spoken of than I may write. . . . The writings which comprehended the names and contents of the chief for the murdering of the King is turned to ashes," he adds, in a significant passage, "the same not unknown to the Queen, and the same which concerns her part kept to be shown. The Regent makes very fair weather with her." [1]

By the end of the winter there was talk of restoring Mary to liberty by means of a fresh marriage. "It seems," wrote Drury in March, "that the Earl of Murray waxes weary of the office of Regency. . . . Therefore he has the rather yielded to such a request of the Queen's, or device of himself, as breeds great comfort unto her Grace, and yet furtherance and countenance to the Earl's side, namely, a husband for the Queen, the young Lord Methven, a gentleman of twenty or twenty-one years of age, being a Stuart. It is holden very secret, and about Easter it is thought it will be more apparent, and her Grace so set at liberty as the Earl, by further confirmation, shall still use the office he does till the King comes of age. Some affirm that the Earl of Morton sought the matching with the Queen, whereunto she could no way like." [2] The Abbot of Arbroath, and the Earl of Argyll's brother, were also spoken of as candidates for the prisoner's hand; but Mary herself preferred George Douglas, if we are to believe that industrious newsmonger, Drury, in a letter which also describes her dramatic attempt to escape towards the end of March:

SIR WILLAM DRURY TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[Wright's "*Queen Elizabeth and her Times.*"]

April 2, 1568.

It may please your honour, since the dispatch of Nicholas Darington, I have understood of some more

[1] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 363.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 431.

certainty of such matter as passed between the Queen and the Earl of Murray, at his being with her now lastly at Lochleven, where, at the first, she burthened him of the rigour that was used unto her at this last Parliament; and he answered, that he and the rest of the nobility could do no less for their own surety in respect they had enterprised to put her into captivity. From that she entered into another purpose, being marriage, praying she might have a husband, and named one to her liking, George Douglas, brother to the Lord of Lochleven. Unto the which the Earl replied that he was over mean a marriage for her Grace, and said further that he with the rest of the nobility would take advice thereupon.

This in substance was all that passed between the Queen and the Earl of Murray at that time. But after, upon 25th of the last, she enterprised an escape, and was the rather nearer effect through her accustomed long being abed all the morning. The manner of it was thus: There cometh into her the laundress early, as other times, before she was wonted, and the Queen (according to such a secret practice), putteth on the clothes of her laundress, and so, with the bundle of clothes and her muffler upon her face, passeth out and entereth the boat to pass the Lough, which, after some space, one of them that rowed said merrily, "Let us see what manner of dame this is!" and therewith offered to pull down her muffler, which to defend, she put up her hands. These they espied to be very fair and white, wherewith they entered into suspicion who she was, beginning to wonder at her enterprise. Whereat she was little dismayed, but charged them upon danger of their lives to row her over to the shore, which they nothing regarded, but soon rowed her back again, promising her that it should be secreted, and in especial from the lord of the house under whose guard she lieth. It seemeth she knew her refuge, and where to have found it, if she had once landed, for there did, and yet do, linger George Douglas, at a little village called Kinross, hard

at the Lough side, and with the same George Douglas one Simple and one Beaton, the which two were sometime her trusty servants, and as yet appeareth they mind her no less affection. . . .

To this Drury added, in another letter of the same date: "The Queen has declared unto George Douglas's mother of her having moved and broken with the Regent for to marry with him, and of his unwillingness unto the same, with these words and such like: 'You may see what a kind brother he hath of him?' Notwithstanding that George Douglas was forbidden to remain there, yet it is thought that he has disguisedly secret recourse thither, and the affection great. The Queen's liberty, by favour, force, or stealth, is shortly looked for."[1] Young Douglas's devotion is attested by Mary herself through Nau's "History," in which, however, no mention is made of these matrimonial schemes; and a very different version given of Murray's interviews with Mary, from the time of his first visit to Lochleven onwards. "She told him openly" at last, says Nau, "that since he had dealt with her so unjustly and basely in every particular which she had required of him, however just and reasonable, she would never apply to him on any occasion whatever. She would rather wear out her life in perpetual prison than have freedom by means of him." It was probably through George Douglas that Mary succeeded in sending the few surviving letters from her pen which have come down to us from this period. Apparently the first in chronological order, though it bears no date, is the fruitless appeal to the Queen Mother of France:

MARY STUART TO CATHERINE DE' MEDICI.

[Strickland's "*Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots.*"]

Madame,

I write to you at the same time that I write to the King your son, by the same bearer. I beseech you both to have pity upon me. I am now fully convinced that it is by force alone I can be delivered. If

[1] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., pp. 437–8.

you send never so few troops to countenance the matter, I am certain great numbers of my subjects will rise to join them ; but without that they are overawed by the power of the rebels, and dare attempt nothing of themselves.

The miseries I endure are more than I once believed it was in the power of human sufferance to sustain, and live. Give credit to this messenger, who can tell you all ; I have no opportunity to write but while my gaolers are at dinner.

Have compassion, I conjure you, on my wretched condition, and may God pour on you all the blessings you can wish. I am, your ever dutiful, though most wretched and afflicted daughter,

M. R.

From my prison, to Madame, the Queen of France, my mother-in-law.

Catherine de' Medici responded with promises which were of no more use than were those of Elizabeth, though another French Ambassador, De Beaumont, arrived on her behalf in Scotland a few days before her next and successful attempt to escape. The Queen Mother was too full of her own troubles with rebellious subjects to send help to Mary, even had she been sincere in her promises of assistance. Mary's reply was sent by John Beaton, whose loyalty was like that of his brother, the Archbishop of Glasgow, pure and disinterested, shining like a beacon light in a treacherous sea, and proving of no small service to her presently in the final dash for freedom :

MARY STUART TO CATHERINE DE' MEDICI.

[Strickland's "*Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots.*"]

LOCHLEVEN, *March* 31, 1568.

Madame,

I received the letter with which you were pleased to comfort me in my miserable condition ; the bearer of it was cast into prison, where he still continues ; judge by that the barbarity of my cruel gaolers. I most humbly thank you for the promise you make me,

of aiding me in this distress. My wretched state puts it out of my power to offer you any thing in return but my good wishes, but those you have always had.

I have had the utmost difficulty to dispatch this messenger to acquaint you with the reality of my misfortunes, and humbly to beseech that you will take compassion on me.

I trust in God that the report which my enemies are perpetually persecuting me with is fabulous—that one of the articles of the treaty of peace your son the King has made with his rebellious subjects is, that he shall forsake my interests, and that the Prince de Condé and the Admiral [Coligny] will come to agreement on no other terms. I cannot give credit to tidings so terrible to me, without abandoning myself to the utmost despair. Next to heaven, I rely entirely on you, and hope you will not forsake me in this my dreadful calamity.

Believe what this bearer will inform you as if myself were speaking; for I have no time to write more, but only pray to God to keep you in His holy protection, safe from the misery which treason brings, but which is the portion at present of your unhappy, but

Ever obedient daughter,
M. R.

How difficult and dangerous it was for Mary to send written messages at all is shown in the letter which John Beaton carried at the same time to his brother, the Ambassador in Paris:

MARY STUART TO ARCHBISHOP BEATON.

[Strickland's "*Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots.*"]

LOCHLEVEN, *March* 31, 1567.

M. de Glasgow,

Your brother will inform you of my miserable situation, and I beg you will present him and his letters, saying all that you can in my behalf. He will tell you the rest, as I have neither paper nor time to write more, unless to entreat the King, the Queen,

and my uncles to burn my letters, for should it be known that I have written, it may cost a great many lives, put my own in peril, and cause me to be still more strictly guarded. God preserve you and give me patience.

Your old very good mistress and friend,

MARY, R.

Being now a prisoner, I request you to direct five hundred crowns to be paid to the bearer for travelling expenses, and more if he has need of it.

Only a few weeks now remained to complete the plans for Mary's escape. The time was ripe, for the Hamiltons, with Huntly, Argyll, Herries, Seton and their followers were growing more and more restless and dissatisfied with the Murray *régime*, and were only awaiting a favourable opportunity to overthrow him. If only the French would send some troops to their aid! That was the hope which inspired Mary's letters to France, the last of which was written on the very eve of her flight. This letter plainly suggests that Mary had no inkling at the time of writing that her delivery was so imminent, although, according to Nau's "History," the date and all the details were arranged with George Douglas a long time before:

MARY STUART TO CATHERINE DE' MEDICI.

[Strickland's "*Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots.*"]

LOCHLEVEN, *May* 1, 1568.

Madame,

I send to you by this bearer, and by the same opportunity I write to the King, your son. He will tell you more at length, for so closely am I watched that I have no leisure but while they dine, or when they sleep, for their girls sleep with me—this bearer will tell you all. I implore you to credit him, and to recompense him, even as I would myself.

I pray that both of you [Charles IX. and the Queen Mother] will have pity on me; for, if you do not take me by force, I shall never go from hence, of that I am sure; but if you will please to send troops, all the

Scots will revolt against Murray and Morton if they have but the means of gathering themselves together.

I entreat you will give belief to this bearer, and hold me in your good graces, and pray to God that ——

One wonders what was the hidden meaning of that sudden termination. Its broken sentence seems strangely in accord with the dramatic event with which it is associated. More than George Douglas among the household of the Laird of Lochleven connived at Mary's escape. When George was forbidden to remain on the island he arranged all the details of her flight with the Hamiltons and other sympathisers, and planned with Mary that William Douglas, a younger retainer, should steal the keys of the castle and carry her to the opposite shore, where George would be waiting for her with an armed escort. Young Douglas "was in fantasy of love with her," according to the following contemporary account. James Melville added that "the old lady, his mother, was also thought to be upon the Council":

Upon the second day of this month a servant in Lochleven, who had since his birth been nursed in the same place, and by reason thereof having credit there, stole the keys in the time of supper, and thereafter passed and [received] the King's mother forth of her chamber, and conveyed her to the boat, and locked all the gates upon the rest who were at supper, and spoiled the rest of the boats of their furniture, so that none was able to follow them; and when they were come to land George Douglas, brother to the Laird of Lochleven, who was in fantasy of love with her, and had provided this money of before, met her at the Loch side, accompanied with the Laird of Ricarton, a friend of the Lord Bothwell's, and with them ten horse. They took away all the horse which pertained to the Laird of Lochleven. Within two miles, Lord Seton with James Hamilton of Ormiston met her with thirty horse. In this company she passed the ferry and was met by Claud Hamilton with thirty horse, who conveyed her to Niddry, where she made some dispatches with her own

hand, namely, one to John Beaton to send to France, and another to the Laird of Ricarton, commanding him to take the castle of Dunbar, who, however, failed of his enterprise. At her departing Lord Herries met her, accompanied with thirty horse, and altogether conveyed her to Hamilton to the castle thereof, where she now remains, accompanied with all such as were of the motion of this conspiracy, which are not a very great number, and earnestly repents that ever they had meddling therewith.[1]

On arriving in Paris with this momentous news John Beaton gave the Venetian Ambassador an account of the escape, which agrees in essentials both with the above details and the long narrative in "Nau":

GIOVANNI CORRER TO THE SIGNORY OF VENICE.

[*Venetian Calendar*, Vol. VII.]

PARIS, *May* 26, 1568.

The Queen of Scotland was advised by Lord Seton, her most confidential Catholic friend, and a very brave gentleman, by means of a lad of the house who never returned, that he on an appointed day would be with about fifty horsemen at the lake of Lochleven, where the Queen was held a prisoner. Seton remained with forty horsemen in the mountains at a short distance, so as not to be discovered by the occupants of the castle in the lake, and the other ten, approaching nearer, entered a village, pretending to be travellers; and one of these men went to the edge of the lake itself, and prostrating himself on the ground, so as not to be seen, waited, according to the order given, until the Queen should come forth, as arranged.

Guard was continually kept at the castle gate day and night, except during supper, at which time the gate was locked with a key, every one going to supper, and the key was always placed on the table where the Governor took his meals, and before him. The Governor is the uterine brother of the Earl of Murray,

[1] "News Out of Scotland," Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., pp. 451–2.

Regent of Scotland, the Queen's illegitimate brother, and her mortal enemy. The Queen, having attempted to descend from a window unsuccessfully, contrived that a page of the Governor's, whom she had persuaded to this effect, when carrying a dish, in the evening of the 2nd of May, to the table of his master with a napkin before him, should place the napkin on the key, and in removing the napkin take up the key with it, and carry it away unperceived by anyone. Having done so, the page then went directly to the Queen, and told her all was ready; and she, having in the meanwhile been attired by the elder of the two maids who waited upon her, took with her by the hand the younger maid, a girl ten years old, and with the page went quietly to the door, and he having opened it, the Queen went out with him and the younger girl, and locked the gate outside with the same key, without which it could not be opened from within. They then got into a little boat which was kept for the service of the castle, and displaying a white veil of the Queen's with a red tassel, she made the concerted signal to those who awaited her, that she was approaching. On seeing this, the person stretched on the ground on the bank of the lake arose, and by another signal summoned the horsemen from the village, among whom a principal person was he [John Beaton] who is now come to give account of these facts to these Majesties, and who is the brother of the Scottish Ambassador here. The horsemen from the mountains being also informed came immediately to the lake, and received the Queen with infinite joy, and having placed her on horseback with the page and the girl, they conveyed her to the sea coast, at a distance thence of five miles, because to proceed by land to the place which had been designated appeared manifestly too dangerous. All having embarked, the Queen was conducted to Niddry, a place belonging to Lord Seton, and thence to Hamilton, a castle of the Duke of Châtelherault, where his brother, the Archbishop of St. Andrews,

with other principal personages of those parts, acknowledged her as Queen.

Hamilton is a favourable basis for military operations, and four leagues distant from Dumbarton, which is a seaport and a very strong fortress, but the Queen will not proceed thither because she feels quite safe in Hamilton, for the Archbishop of St. Andrews has command over all the adjacent country, and she can thus more easily receive at Hamilton the friends who may come to her assistance than in the fortress of Dumbarton, whither, however, she might proceed at any time in case of necessity. All Scotland is in motion, some declaring for the Queen, and some against her and for the Earl of Murray.

She sends this gentleman to ask the King of France, for her present need, for a thousand harquebusiers, but should she wish to recover Edinburgh and other fortresses occupied by the rebels, she would require to be assisted by a greater number. She has also written a letter to the Cardinal of Lorraine which should move every hard heart to have compassion upon her. The first lines express that she begs pardon of God, and of the world, for the past errors of her youth, which she promises to amend for the future; then she acknowledges her release solely from His Divine Majesty, and returns Him most humble thanks for having given her so much strength in these her afflictions; and she declares that she has never swerved in the least from her firm purpose to live and die a Catholic, as she now intends to do more than ever. . . .

Murray, who was holding an assize at Glasgow at the time, straightway issued a proclamation in the name of the King, summoning all lieges to repair thither, armed with fifteen days' provisions, "for the preservation of the King's person and authority, and the establishing of quietness."[1] Mary replied with a counterblast in which she poured all the pent-up fury, hate, and virulence born of her ten months'

[1] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., p. 450.

imprisonment. In it—unless, as has been suggested, the whole document is a hoax, and was never issued—she scornfully refers to Murray as "that beastly traitor . . . a bastard gotten in shameful adultery"; to Lethington as "the unworthy traitor"; and as for the rest of "that pestiferous faction," they are variously described as shameless butchers, hell-hounds, bloody tyrants, common murderers, and cut-throats, "whom no prince, yea, not the barbarous Turk, for their perpetrated murders could pardon or spare."[1]

The clansmen gathered round Mary's standard so rapidly that within a week her forces, some five or six thousand all told, greatly outnumbered those of the Regent. Murray's men, on the other hand, were better led, and when the day of battle came at Langside on May 13, it was this factor and the sounder strategy of Kirkcaldy of Grange which won the day. A terse summary of events since Mary's escape was sent to Throckmorton by John Wood, Murray's secretary, who accompanied the Regent's forces:

JOHN WOOD TO SIR NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON.

[Pepys' Manuscripts, Historical MSS. Commission.]

GLASGOW, *May* 14, 1560.

These late mutations chanced to us to whom novelties are no novelties, so well are we accustomed with changes. The Queen escaped from Lochleven by means of a brother of the Lord thereof called George Douglas, who trafficked with my Lord of St. Andrews and Lord Herries to that effect. She went to Hamilton and remained there from 2nd to 12th inst. Then, about the 12th, moved, as we believed, against us with the Hamiltons, the Earls of Argyll, Casillis, Eglinton, Rothes, Lords Herries, Yester, and many others. They were betwixt 5,000 and 6,000. We seeing them keep towards Paisley, hastened towards them with the Earls of Morton, Mar, Glencairn, Graham, Monteith, Lords Hume,

[1] The full text of this amazing document has been printed by Sir William Fraser in his "Memorials of the Earls of Haddington," Vol. II., pp. 268–77.

Lindsay, Ruthven, Ochiltree, and many of the old professors of these parts. Our avant-guards having rencontered with spears, it was hard fighting more than a large quarter of an hour, and then, with the slaughter of six score or thereby of the chief Hamiltons, they were overthrown. And because we were almost all on foot, the chase was not great. The Queen fled with Herries towards Dumfries, where she is yet. . . . We with divers prisoners and nine of the field pieces returned to Glasgow. . . . Robert Melville was with the Queen against her will and is now stayed by one of ours; as he is not able to do his duty to you, I supply his room.

Sir James Melville declares in his "Memoirs" that it was against her better judgment that Mary was prevailed upon to give battle at Langside, her own mind being to retire to Dumbarton, "and draw home again, by little and little, her whole subjects." But the Bishop of St. Andrews and the House of Hamilton, with the rest of the Lords that were there convened, finding themselves in number far beyond the other party, must needs hazard battle, thereby "thinking to overcome the Regent their great enemy, and be also masters of the Queen, to command and rule all at their pleasure. Some alleged that the Bishop was minded to cause the Queen to marry my Lord Hamilton, in case they had obtained the victory. And I was since informed," continues Melville, "by some who were present, that the Queen herself feared the same; therefore she pressed them still to convoy her to Dumbarton, and had sent me word with the French Ambassador the same morning before the battle, to draw on a meeting for concord, by the means of the Secretary Lethington and the Laird of Grange; and for her part she would send the Lord Herries and some other. She had also caused my brother Sir Robert to write a letter to me that same morning for the same effect, but the Queen's army came on so fiercely that there was no stay."

The Queen, who followed the course of her fickle fortune from a dominating height overlooking Langside, did not wait for the end. Seeing that her troops were beaten, she "lost

all courage, which she had never done before," according to Buchanan's "History," and "took so great fear that she rode away at full speed with some few trusty friends, and never once suffered her eyes to shut till she had got full sixty Scottish miles from the place of battle."[1] Arrived at Dundrennan, near Kirkcudbright, Mary dispatched the following urgent letter to Elizabeth, imploring her protection, sending at the same time the heart-shaped diamond which "her dearest sister" had formerly presented to her in token of her amity and good will. That, at least, is the inference which has been drawn from Mary's concluding sentence:

MARY STUART TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[Strickland's "*Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots.*"]

DUNDRENNAN, *May* 15, 1568.

You are not ignorant, my dearest sister, of great part of my misfortunes, but these which induce me to write at present, have happened too recently yet to have reached your ear. I must therefore acquaint you briefly as I can, that some of my subjects whom I most confided in, and had raised to the highest pitch of honour, have taken up arms against me, and treated me with the utmost indignity. By unexpected means, the Almighty Disposer of all things delivered me from the cruel imprisonment I underwent; but I have since lost a battle, in which most of those who preserved their loyal integrity fell before my eyes. I am now forced out of my kingdom, and driven to such straits that, next to God, I have no hope but in your goodness. I beseech you, therefore, my dearest sister, that I may be conducted to your presence, that I may acquaint you with all my affairs.

In the meantime, I beseech God to grant you all heavenly benedictions, and to me patience and consolation, which last I hope and pray to obtain by your means. To remind you of the reasons I have to depend on England, I send back to its Queen this

[1] The distance was nearer ninety English miles. Mary herself said ninety-two miles in her letter to the Cardinal of Lorraine (p. 346).

token, the jewel of her promised friendship and assistance.

Your affectionate sister,
M. R.

From Dundrennan Mary could look across the Solway to England and, as she too readily supposed, to safety. There was still the alternative of France, or even Spain, and Herries and the other Catholics, we are told, were all in favour of the Continent. "But," writes Keith, "though they implored her not to commit herself into the hands of the Queen of England, yet, as an increase to all her former misfortunes, this was the unlucky road she proposed, alleging for this her resolution the late kindnesses her cousin had showed her, and her aversion to go again into France with the equipage of an exile or fugitive, where she had formerly appeared in so much glory and splendour."[1] So the disastrous decision was made for England, and on May 16 the party crossed in a fishing boat to Workington, on the coast of Cumberland. Here Mary wrote at once to Elizabeth for consolation and assistance, and permission to submit her case to her in person:

MARY STUART TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[Strickland's "*Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots.*"]

WORKINGTON, *May* 17, 1568.

Madam my good sister,

I believe you are not ignorant how long certain of my subjects, whom from the least of my kingdom I have raised to be the greatest, have taken upon themselves to involve me in trouble, and to do what it appears they had in view from the first. You know how they purposed to seize me and the late King my husband, from which attempt it pleased God to protect us, and to permit us to expel them from the country, where, at your request, I again afterwards received them; though, on their return, they committed another crime, that of holding me a prisoner, and killing in my presence a servant of mine, I being at

[1] Keith's "Church and State in Scotland," Vol. II., p. 822.

the time in a state of pregnancy. It again pleased God that I should save myself from their hands; and, as above said, I not only pardoned them, but even received them into favour. They, however, not yet satisfied with so many acts of kindness, have, on the contrary, in spite of their promises, devised, favoured, subscribed to, and aided in a crime[1] for the purpose of charging it falsely upon me, as I hope fully to make you understand. They have, under this pretence, arrayed themselves against me, accusing me of being ill-advised, and pretending a desire of seeing me delivered from bad counsels, in order to point out to me the things that required reformation. I, feeling myself innocent, and desirous to avoid the shedding of blood, placed myself in their hands, wishing to reform what was amiss. They immediately seized and imprisoned me. When I upbraided them with a breach of their promise, and requested to be informed why I was thus treated, they all absented themselves. I demanded to be heard in Council, which was refused me. In short, they have kept me without any servants, except two women, a cook, and a surgeon; and they have threatened to kill me, if I did not sign an abdication of my crown, which the fear of immediate death caused me to do, as I have since proved before the whole of the nobility, of which I hope to afford you evidence.

After this, they again laid hold of me in Parliament, without saying why, and without hearing me; forbidding, at the same time, every advocate to plead for me; and, compelling the rest to acquiesce in their unjust usurpation of my rights, they have robbed me of every thing I had in the world, not permitting me either to write or to speak, in order that I might not contradict their false inventions.

At last, it pleased God to deliver me, when they thought of putting me to death, that they might make more sure of their power, though I repeatedly offered to answer anything they had to say to me, and to join

[1] The murder of Darnley.

them in the punishment of those who should be guilty of any crime. In short, it pleased God to deliver me, to the great content of all my subjects, except Murray, Morton, the Humes, Glencairn, Mar, and Sempill, to whom, after that my whole nobility was come from all parts, I sent to say that, notwithstanding their ingratitude and unjust cruelty employed against me, I was willing to invite them to return to their duty, and to offer them security of their lives and estates, and to hold a Parliament for the purpose of reforming every thing. I sent twice. They seized and imprisoned my messengers, and made proclamation, declaring traitors all those who should assist me, and guilty of that odious crime. I demanded that they should name one of them, and I would give him up, and begged them, at the same time, to deliver to me such as should be named to them. They seized upon my officer and my proclamation. I sent to demand a safe-conduct for my Lord Boyd, in order to treat of an accommodation, not wishing, as far as I might be concerned, for any effusion of blood. They refused, saying that those who had not been true to their Regent and to my son, whom they denominate King, should leave me, and put themselves at their disposal, a thing at which the whole nobility were greatly offended.

Seeing, therefore, that they were only a few individuals, and that my nobility were more attached to me than ever, I was in hope that, in course of time, and under your favour, they would be gradually reduced; and, seeing that they said they would either retake me or all die, I proceeded toward Dumbarton, passing at the distance of two miles from them, my nobility accompanying me, marching in order of battle between them and me; which they seeing, sallied forth, and came to cut off my way and take me. My people seeing this, and moved by that extreme malice of my enemies, with a view to check their progress, encountered them without order, so that, though they were twice their number, their

sudden advance caused them so great a disadvantage, that God permitted them to be discomfited, and several killed and taken; some of them were cruelly put to death when taken on their retreat. The pursuit was immediately interrupted, in order to take me on my way to Dumbarton; they stationed people in every direction, either to kill or take me. But God, through His infinite goodness, has preserved me, and I escaped to my Lord Herries's, who, as well as other gentlemen, have come with me into your country, being assured that, hearing the cruelty of my enemies, and how they have treated me, you will, conformably to your kind disposition and the confidence I have in you, not only receive for the safety of my life, but also aid and assist me in my just quarrel, and I shall solicit other princes to do the same. I entreat you to send to fetch me as soon as you possibly can, for I am in a pitiable condition, not only for a Queen, but for a gentlewoman; for I have nothing in the world but what I had on my person when I made my escape, travelling across the country the first day, and not having since ever ventured to proceed, except in the night, as I hope to declare before you, if it pleases you to have pity, as I trust you will, upon my extreme misfortune; of which I will forbear complaining, in order not to importune you, and pray to God that He may give to you a happy state of health and long life, and me patience, and that consolation which I expect to receive from you, to whom I present my humble commendations. Your most faithful and affectionate good sister, and cousin, and escaped prisoner.

MARY, R.

Elizabeth had rejoiced at Mary's escape from Lochleven, and hoped that she would teach her presumptuous subjects such a lesson as would point a wholesome moral to all men who dared to tamper with the divine rights of Kings and Queens—especially Queens. But Mary's arrival as a fugitive on English soil placed her in a predicament which was altogether embarrassing. It forced her hand, where hitherto

a waiting game had served her so well, and where any false move was fraught with immeasurable dangers. If her first impulse on receiving Mary's last letters had been to espouse her cause with the warmth of her repeated promises of support, second thoughts, and the cold logic of Cecil's advice, decided her to keep "her dearest sister" at arm's length, the while she prevented her from escaping to France, or doubling back into Scotland with a flaming torch of revenge—a torch which might set the whole of the two kingdoms ablaze with the religious wars that had already devastated so many parts of the Continent.

Some inkling of the contents of the mysterious Casket had doubtless reached the ears of Cecil and Elizabeth long before this. Andrew Lang makes it clear in his "Mystery of Mary Stuart" that on the very day of the "sichting" of the documents the Lords sent a messenger to Robert Melville in London, "doubtless with verbal information about their discovery." In the following month of July Throckmorton was writing to Elizabeth herself of apparent proof against her "by the testimony of her own handwriting, which they have recovered" (see pp. 286–7). The French Ambassador in London, too, as we have also seen, was talking about the incriminating letters in London in the same month, having copies in his possession, and Cecil's agents and spies, we know, were everywhere. Murray told Guzman that he had not breathed a word on the subject during his interview with Elizabeth while passing through London a little later, but after Mary's flight he saw to it that the English Court should at length see this evidence for itself. John Wood must have carried the Scots translation of the Casket Letters when dispatched by the Regent to London on May 21, Murray informing the English Council a month later that Wood had those copies with him.[1]

No one appreciated the peculiar difficulties of the English Queen's position better than Catherine de' Medici, who at once seized the opportunity to reply to Elizabeth's home-thrust of the previous October with a letter which, in its subtle flattery, must have been none the less galling because its recipient knew perfectly well that Catherine

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., pp. 441–2.

herself was capable of treachery even blacker than that of which Elizabeth would now stand accused:

CATHERINE DE' MEDICI TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[Strickland's "*Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots.*"]

May 26, 1568.

Madame my good sister,

As soon as the King my son and I learned to what state the Queen of Scotland, my daughter-in-law, was at present reduced, and how she had been compelled to retire for refuge into your realm, being pursued by her subjects, as you have perhaps understood, we incontinently dispatched the Sieur de Montmorin to express to you in fair words, that being much grieved to see her in this trouble and affliction, it has been a great satisfaction to us that she should have gone and surrendered herself into your hands. We are assured that she will receive all the assistance, favour, succour and friendship that an afflicted Princess like her ought to have from you, and that you will remain in the same opinion in which you have been, which is, "that Princes are bound to assist one another to chastise and punish the subjects who rise up against them, and are rebellious to their Sovereigns."[1] And inasmuch as this touches us to the heart, we ought to be ready to take part for the protection of "this desolate and afflicted Queen," that she may be restored to her liberty and the authority given to her by God, which in right and equity pertains to her and not to another.

I beseech you, Madame my good sister, that you would make manifest to every one, especially to the King, my lord and son, how much you desire the authority of Sovereign Princes to be preserved, and their rebellious and disobedient subjects to be chastised and punished. Above all, that you will use her [the Queen of Scots] with that good and tender treatment that you have promised us, and which we hope from you, and that you will benignantly

[1] Here, as elsewhere, Catherine de' Medici adroitly paraphrases Elizabeth's own letter to her (see p. 316).

vouchsafe to her all the aid, favour, and service which she will require for the restoration of her liberty, and the authority that appertains to her.

It is thus that we have commanded and given express charge to M. de Montmorin to say to you more at length, and particularly on our part; the which I pray you to believe, as you would do if it were in my own person.

Beseeching the Creator, Madame my sister, after I have presented my affectionate commendations to your good grace, to give you, in very good health, long life.

Postscript, in the Queen Mother's own hand.[1]

Madame my good sister,

I will write you one word to pray you to put me at ease, and to excuse the present from my hand, for I am still feeble from my sickness; but on this occasion I should desire not only to write to you myself, but to see you in person. Not that I doubt your goodness; having no other fear than this, that you will not remember sufficiently that you have often been unjust towards this Queen, my daughter-in-law, and how this is a case that touches all Princes, and especially a Princess who has made me the assurances that you have done, "that, as much as lies in your power, you will make perfect in deeds that which you have shown to her in words," which makes me say that she is very happy to be in your kingdom.

Your good sister and cousin.

How these women loved one another! Elizabeth in reply assured Catherine that she would not forget that Mary was a Queen and a near relative; "nor on the other hand," she added, "can she put aside the considerations which move her not to treat her with such ceremony or pomp as she might have desired, and which she would rather leave to the Queen Mother's good judgment to imagine, than suffer her pen to write."[2] Mary, meantime, had been escorted by Sir Richard Lowther from Cockermouth to Carlisle Castle,

[1] The letter itself is written by a secretary, and without signature.

[2] Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. VIII., pp. 490–1.

whither express directions were sent as soon as the news of her arrival reached Elizabeth, not only for her honourable entertainment, but also for her safekeeping. Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knollys, the Vice-Chamberlain, were dispatched at the same time to break the news as gently as possible to Mary that their royal mistress could not receive her until she had proved that she was innocent of her husband's murder:

LORD SCROPE AND SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

CARLISLE, *May* 29, 1568.

We arrived here yesterday at 6 o'clock p.m., and by the way Lord Herries met us six miles from this town, discoursing much of his mistress's lamentable estate, her enemies' cruelty, her innocence of the murder of her husband, which would be easily proved, if she might be heard thereon before your Highness—trusting also you would either give her aid to chasten her subjects, or leave to pass to France to seek relief. We said we doubted if your Highness would like her to bring French into Scotland—and whether you could receive her so honourably to your presence as your affection to her wished, till you were satisfied of her innocence of the said murder. Whereon he seemed determined to ride towards your Highness in a day or two—the thing we specially sought for. Then, repairing to the Castle, we found the Queen in her chamber of presence ready to receive us; whereafter we declared your Highness's sorrow for her lamentable misadventure and inconvenient arrival, though you were glad of her escape from peril. We found her to have an eloquent tongue and a discreet head, and it seemeth by her doings she hath stout courage and liberal heart adjoined thereunto.

After delivering your Highness's letter she fell into some passion with the water in her eyes, and, taking us into her bedchamber, complained that you did not

answer her expectation to admit her forthwith to your presence, whereon, declaring her innocency, you would either without delay aid her to subdue her enemies, or else being now come of good will, and not of necessity, into your Highness's hands (for a good and greatest part of her subjects, said she, do remain fast unto her still), you would at least give her passage through your country to France—not doubting but both the Kings of France and Spain would help her. Here she said the cause of the war and treason of her subjects, was to keep by violence that which she had so liberally given them, since, by her privy revocation thereof with full age, they could not enjoy it by law. And she affirmed that both Lethington and the Lord Morton were assenting to the murder of her husband, as it could well be proved, although now they would seem to persecute the same. To the first part we answered that your Highness was inwardly sorry and very much grieved, that you could not do her that great honour to admit her solemnly and worthily into your presence, by reason of this great slander of murder, whereof she was not yet purged. But we said we were sure that your Highness's affection towards her was so great that whether her Grace could purge herself or not in that behalf, yet if she would depend upon your Highness's favour, without seeking to bring in strangers into Scotland (the imminent danger whereof your Highness could not suffer), then undoubtedly your Highness would use all the convenient measures you could for her relief and comfort. And if it pleased her Grace to direct us, we would advertise your Highness of her declarations with speed; and on your answer, we should be able to declare your intent and meaning. Wherewith her Grace complained much of delays to her prejudice, and winning of time to her enemies, so that discontentedly she contented herself therewith. Whereon we took our leave, promising dispatch: and her Grace sends Lord Herries with her letters.

Now it behoves your Highness, in my opinion, gravely to consider your answer herein, specially because many gentlemen of divers shires, here near-adjoining within your realm, have heard her daily defences and excuses of her innocence, with her great accusations of her enemies very eloquently told before our coming hither. And therefore I the Vice-Chamberlain, do refer to your Highness's better consideration, whether it were not honourable for you in the sight of your subjects, and of all foreign Princes, to put her Grace to the choice, whether she will depart freely back into her country without your Highness's impeachment; or whether she will remain at your Highness's devotion within your realm here, with her necessary servants only to attend upon her, to see how honourably your Highness can do for her? For by this means your Highness, I think, shall stop the mouths of backbiters that otherwise would blow out seditious rumours as well in your own realm as elsewhere, of detaining of her ungratefully! And yet I think it is likely that if she had so her own choice, she would not go back into her own realm presently, nor until she might look for succours of men out of France to join with her there; or if she would go presently into her own country, the worst were that peradventure with danger enough, she might get into France; and that would hardly be done, if my Lord of Murray have a former inkling of her departure thither. And on the other side, she cannot be kept so rigorously as a prisoner with your Highness's honour (in mine opinion); but with devices of towels or toys at her chamber window, or elsewhere in the night, a body of her agility and spirit may escape soon, being so near the Border. And surely to have her carried farther into the realm is the highway to a dangerous sedition, as I suppose.

It was not long before Mary touched the susceptible heart of Knollys, when he ventured to discuss the odious charge which stood in the way of her meeting with Elizabeth:

SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters*" Second Series, Vol. II.]

CARLISLE, *May* 30, 1568.

This day immediately after dinner the Queen of Scots, before the closing up of her letters directed to your Majesty by my Lord Herries, in private communication with my Lord Scrope and me, fell into her ordinary inveighing against my Lord of Murray and his adherents, saying among other things that when she was but nine days old they had a reverent and obedient care of her; but now, saith she, that I am twenty-four years old, they would exclude me from government like disobedient rebels.

Whereupon I thought with myself that if I should not object somewhat to make the matter disputable, whether the Lords of Scotland deposing her from the government (although not by her own inward consent yet by her subscription) did well or not, that then she would more clamourously be offended with your Majesty if you should not answer her requests according to her expectation: wherefore I objected unto her that in some cases Princes might be deposed from their government by their subjects lawfully, as if a Prince should fall into madness. In this case good subjects might depose their Prince from government and restrain him from liberty. And (said I) what difference is there between lunacy and cruel murdering, for the one is an evil humour proceeding of melancholy, and the other is an evil humour proceeding of choler: wherefore the question is whether your Grace deserved to be put from the government or not, for if your Grace should be guilty of any such odious crime as deserveth deposal, then (said I) how should they be blamed that have deposed you.

Hereupon her Grace beginning to clear herself after her accustomed manner, the tears yet fell from her eyes. And then I said your Highness would be the gladdest in the world to see her Grace well purged of this crime, that thereby your Highness might aid her fully and amply to the advancement of

her Grace to her government royal again: for her Grace, I said, was your Highness's nearest kinswoman on the father's side,[1] and that you were both born in one continent of land, although this separation was between you, that you were not both born in one circuit of obedience. Herewith her Grace answered me very courteously, but forthwith she said she must go close up her letters to your Highness, and so departed to her bed chamber. This far I waded with her Grace to make her cause disputable, but when I saw her tears, I forbore to prosecute mine objection, and fell to comforting of her with declaration of your Highness's great affection and good will towards her. Although I think it necessary that Mr. Secretary be made privy hereof, yet how far otherways to be imparted I refer to your Highness's pleasure. And thus daily praying for your Majesty's prosperous preservation I shall commit the same to God.

Your Highness's most humble
and obedient subject and servant,
F. KNOLLYS.

Disillusioned, but still hoping that if Elizabeth would not permit her, as she wrote by Herries, "to throw myself into your arms as my best friend," she would at least allow her "to seek succour from the other Princes and friends my allies, without any prejudice to the ancient friendship between us two," adding that there was "nothing to prevent me from applying to them but this detention, which I think rather harsh and strange, considering that I came so frankly into your country, without any condition or any distrust of your friendship, promised in your frequent letters."[2] Herries was accompanied by Lord Fleming, with a request that Elizabeth would allow him to proceed on her behalf to the Court of France; but this Elizabeth forbade. In order to gain time the English Queen now dispatched Henry Middlemore on a mission both to Mary and Murray, with letters to the first

[1] Sir Francis Knollys was himself as near a kinsman to Elizabeth, by the mother's side.

[2] Strickland's "Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots."

assuring her how careful she would be of her life and honour in "the handling of this business," and to the second bidding him forbear from all hostility against Mary's followers, "and to impart to us plainly all that is meet for you to inform us of the truth, for your defences against such weighty crimes and causes as the said Queen has already or shall hereafter object against you."[1] Here is the letter sent to Mary on this occasion :

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO MARY STUART.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

June 8, 1568.

Madame,

I learn by your letter and by my Lord Herries your desire to justify yourself in my presence of the things charged against you. O Madame ! there is no creature living more desirous to hear it than I, or who will more readily lend her ears to such answer as shall acquit your honour. But whatever my regard for you, I can never be careless of my own reputation. I am held suspect for rather wishing to defend you herein, than opening my eyes to see the things these people condemn you in. If you knew the quarter from which I have been warned to be careful, you would not think these matters too low for me to see to. And since you put in my hands the handling of this business, which concerns all appertaining to you, assure yourself I shall be so careful of your life and honour, that yourself or any other parent could not have them more at heart. And I promise on the word of a Prince, that no persuasion of your subjects or advice of others shall ever induce me to move you to anything dangerous to you or your honour. If you find it strange not to see me, you must make a *metamorphose* of our persons, and then you will see it would be *malaise* for me to receive you before your justification. But once honourably acquitted of this crime, I swear to you before God, that among all worldly pleasures that will hold the first rank. To

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., pp. 426–7.

show you I wish no delay, I have commanded this gentleman, well known to you, to declare with what purpose I have sent him, also my commission, which I would not have issued but for your good. I have good hope to see a good end of all these troubles. Praying God to aid in all your good actions and deliver you from all your evil enemies.

Mary listened to Henry Middlemore's excuses with "great passion and weeping," as that emissary afterwards wrote to Cecil, vowing that she had no other judge but God, but that if only Elizabeth would consent to receive her, she "would and did mean to have uttered such matter unto her," as she "would have done to no other, nor ever yet did to any." For the rest, she declared "it appeared that the Queen's Majesty would be more favourable to my Lord of Murray and his than she would be to her; for it seemed she was contented that they should come to her presence to accuse her, but she will not permit her to come to her to purge herself." [1] To Elizabeth personally Mary wrote in reply:

MARY STUART TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[Strickland's "*Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots.*"]

CARLISLE, *June* 13, 1568.

Madam my good sister,

I thank you for the disposition which you have to listen to the justification of my honour, which ought to be a matter of importance to all Princes, and especially to you, as I have the honour to be so near of kin to you. But it seems to me, that those who persuade you that my reception would turn to your dishonour manifest the contrary. But alas, Madam, when did you ever hear a Prince censured for listening in person to the grievances of those who complain that they have been falsely accused? Dismiss, Madam, from your mind, the idea that I came hither to save my life; neither the world nor all Scotland has cast me out; but to recover my honour, and to obtain support to enable me to chastise my false

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., pp. 433–4.

accusers, not to answer them as their equal, for I know that they ought not to enter into engagements against their Sovereign, but to accuse them before you, that I have chosen you from among all other Princes, as my nearest kinswoman and perfect friend, doing as if I supposed it an honour to be called the Queen restorer, who hoped to receive this kindness from you, giving you the honour and the glory all my life, making you also thoroughly acquainted with my innocence, and how falsely I have been led.

I see, to my great regret, that I am mistaken. You say that you are counselled by persons of high rank to be guarded in this affair. God forbid that I should be cause of dishonour to you, when it was my intention to seek the contrary! Wherefore, if you please, as my affairs require such great haste, let me see if the other Princes will act in the same manner, and then you cannot be blamed. Permit me to seek those who will support me without any apprehension of that sort, and take what security you will of me when I shall afterwards place myself again in your hands. Though I think you would not desire that, when replaced on my throne, my honour restored, and all foreigners out of the country, I shall come to plead my cause before you, and to justify myself for the sake of my honour and of the friendship which I bear you, and not for the satisfaction I should have in answering false subjects; or even sending for me without giving credit, as it seems you do, to those who are not worthy of it. Grant me your favour and assistance first, and then you shall see whether I am worthy. If you find that I am not, and that my demands are unjust or to your prejudice, or contrary to your honour, it will then be time to get rid of me, and to let me seek my fortune without troubling you. For, being innocent, as thank God I know I am, are you not doing me wrong to keep me here, on getting out of one prison, as it were, into another, encouraging my false enemies to persevere in their lying ways, and disheartening my friends by delaying the assistance

promised them from other quarters, if I wished to employ it? I have all the good men on my side, and my detention may bring ruin upon them, or cause them to change their sentiments, and then there will be a new conquest to make. For your sake, I pardoned those who are at this moment seeking my ruin, of which I can accuse you before God, and . . . . further delay will undo me . . . . Excuse me, it is to me a matter of the utmost importance. I must speak to you without dissimulation. You have admitted into your presence a bastard brother of mine [Murray], who fled from me, and you refuse me that favour, and I feel assured, that the juster my cause the longer it will be delayed; for it is the remedy of a bad cause to stop the mouths of its adversaries; besides, I know that John Wood was commissioned to procure this detention, as their most certain remedy in an unjust quarrel and usurpation of authority.

Wherefore, I beseech you, assist me, binding me to you in every thing, or be neuter. And permit me to try what I can do elsewhere; otherwise, by delaying matters, you will injure me more than my very enemies. If you are afraid of blame, at least, for the confidence that I have placed in you, do nothing either for or against me, that you do not see that I would do for my honour, being at liberty. For here I neither can nor will answer their false accusations, though, out of friendship and for my pleasure, I would cheerfully justify myself to you, but not in the form of a trial with my subjects, if they bark at me with my hands tied. Madam, they and I are not companions in any thing; and if I were to be kept here still longer, I would rather die than make myself such.

Now, speaking as your good sister, let me beseech you, for the sake of your honour, without further delay, to send back my Lord Herries, with the assurance that you will assist me, as he has requested you in my name; for I have no answer either from

you or from him, nor your licence as above. I beseech you also, since I am come to place myself in your hands, in which I have been detained so long without having any certainty, to order my Lord Scrope to allow my subjects to have access, if only one, two, or three, to come and return, and to bring me intelligence about my subjects, otherwise it would be condemning me and my defenders. God grant that you may listen to what I had intended to say to you briefly; I should not have troubled you at such length, though I do not blame you in the least for these underhand practices against me; but I hope, notwithstanding all their fair offices and falsely-coloured speeches, that you will find me a more profitable friend than they can be to you. I shall say nothing particular but by word of mouth. Wherefore I shall conclude with my humble commendations to your good grace, praying God to grant you, Madam, my good sister, health, and a long and very happy life.

Your good sister and cousin,

MARY, R.

Here, for the present, we must perforce leave this luckless Daughter of Debate, caught within the meshes of a net from which death alone was eventually to set her free. It was a tragic ending to that desperate ride for life from Langside field. "I have endured injuries," she wrote to her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, on June 21, "calumnies, imprisonment, famine, cold, heat, flight—not knowing whither, ninety-two miles across the country without stopping or alighting—and then I have had to sleep upon the ground, and drink sour milk, and eat oatmeal without bread, and have been three nights like the owls, without a female in this country, where, to crown all, I am little else than a prisoner."[1] Truly, to quote a telling extract from a letter written by Knollys to Cecil ten days earlier, "this lady and Princess is a notable woman. She seemeth to regard no ceremonious honour beside the acknowledging of her estate regal. She showeth a disposition to speak much, to be bold,

[1] Turnbull's "Letters of Mary Stuart."

to be pleasant, and to be very familiar. She showeth a great desire to be avenged of her enemies; she showeth a readiness to expose herself to all perils in hope of victory; she delighteth much to hear of hardiness and valiance, commending by name all approved hardy men of her country, although they be her enemies; and she commendeth no cowardice even in her friends. The thing that most she thirsteth after is victory, and it seemeth to be indifferent to her to have her enemies diminish, either by the sword of her friends, or by the liberal promises and rewards of her purse, or by division and quarrels raised among themselves; so that for victory's sake, pain and perils seem pleasant unto her, and in respect of victory, wealth and all things seem to her contemptuous and vile."[1] No wonder Knollys added to the same letter a manly plea for plain dealing on his own liege lady's part, "without colours and cloaks that hide no men's eyes but those that are blind." Elizabeth, however, never believed in plain dealing merely because it was the more honourable way. To halt and dissemble had proved a golden rule ever since she had ascended the throne, and she did not mean to break it now at the risk of making her Scottish rival as dangerous in exile as when she sat on the throne of France or Scotland. It was one thing to vow eternal friendship when Mary was safely imprisoned in Lochleven; it was quite another thing to give her an opportunity of making a triumphal progress through England as the rallying point of Elizabeth's discontented Catholics. The exile realised her helplessness when she poured out her catalogue of woes to her uncle of Lorraine, in the letter already quoted. "If you have not pity on me now," she wrote, out of the depth of her sorrow, "it is all over with my son, my country, and myself."

[1] Wright's "Queen Elizabeth and her Times," Vol. I., pp. 280-1.

INDEX

ABERDEEN, City of, letter from, to Mary Stuart, 234
Adamson, Patrick, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews, 108 and *note*
Ainslie Band, The, 226, 229—30
Ainslie's Tavern, famous supper at, 225—6
Alava, Don Francis de, 32
Alessandria, Cardinal of, 250. Letters to, 192—4, 249—50, 296—7
Alloa, Visit of Mary Stuart to, and doings at, 110
Angus, sixth Earl of, *see* Douglas, Archibald
Arbroath, Abbot of, 317
Arbroath, Lord of, 131, 240, 269, 305
Argyll, Archibald, Earl of, 27, 38—40, 45, 48, 51, 53—4, 61—2, 67—8, 74, 77, 82, 84—5, 112, 140—3, 158, 174, 176, 185—6, 189, 203, 222, *note*, p. 226, 235, 239—40, 269, 273—5, 284, 286, 302—3, 317, 322, 327; protestation of, 138—41
Argyll, Countess of, 42 and *note*, 49, 81, 146 and *note*, 148, 150
Arnault, M., 128, 132
Arundel, Earl of, 300—1
Atholl, Earl of, 43, 45, 51, 54—5, 69—70, 85, 125, 152, 158, 178, 186, 189, 192, 235, 239—40, *note*, p. 261, 275, 284, 287, 301, 305, 307, 313
Atholl, Countess of, 186
Aubespine, M. de l', 207

BABINGTON, Anthony, 164
Baden, Margrave of, 23
Baden, Princess Cecilia, Margravine of, 23—4
Bain, Mr., *note*, p. 226
Balentyne, Patrick, 52
Balfour, Gilbert, *note*, p. 211
Balfour, Sir James, 43, 142, 179—80, 190—1, 204, 211, *note*, p. 256, *note*, p. 262, 273
Balfour, James, parson of Flyske, 51, 54—5, 225
Barnaby, Thomas, letter from, 270—1
Basche, Edward, 100 and *note*
Bastien, masque of, at christening ceremony of James VI., 150, 151; marriage of, 167, 185, 188; connexion with Darnley murder, 211
Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, ambassador to Court of France, Mary tells of her hopes for restoration of catholicism, 33; Mary describes Riccio murder to, 42—4; alleged ambitions of, 59—60; Du Croc sends news of Mary and her affairs to, 121—3, 143—5; advised of Mary's illness, 125—32; tells Venetian ambassador of cause of Mary's illness, 135; Mary writes of her husband to, 154—6, *note*, p. 168; warns Mary of designs against her, 156—7; Mary describes Darnley murder and her actions to, 186—8, 205—7; sends further warning letter to Mary, 212—4; Mary sends letters justifying her marriage to, 243—5; loyalty to Mary, 320; receives letter from Mary in prison, 321—2. Letters to, 42—4, 121—3, 125—32, 143—5, 154—6, 187—8, 206—7, 244—5, 321—2. Letters from, 156—7, 213—4
Beaton, John, 121, 180, 254—5, *note*, p. 262, 319—21, 324—5
Beaumont, De, 320

Bedford, Earl of, 9—10, 47, 58—9, 68, 71, 81, 111, 146—8, *note*, p. 148, 150—3, 200, 226, 251, 274, 299, 313, 315. Letters to, 227—8, 232—3, 238—40. Letters from, 37—9, 48—56.
Bellenden, Justice Clerk, 62, 67, 190
Beynston, Laird of, 240
Blackater, Captain, 232
Bog, Alexander, 126, 128
Bordeaux, John de, 211
Borthwick, Lord, 131
Borthwick Castle, flight of Mary and Bothwell to, 252; coming of Scottish lords to, 254—5
Bothwell, Earl of, *see* Hepburn, James
Bothwell, Lady, 216, 223—4, 227, 234, 240, 243, 249, 266, 290
Boyd, Lord Robert, 36, 38—40, 52, 138, *note*, p. 226, 239, 272, 332
Brienne, Count de, 148, 156
Buchan, Earl of, 268
Buchanan, "Detection," 110, *note*, p. 211; extracts from, 112—14, 124, 133, 135, 143, 153, 180—1, 184—6, 201, 203—4, 215. "History," *note*, p. 189; extract from, 329
Buchanan, George, *note*, p. 226
Burnet, "History of his own Time," *note*, p. 275

Caithness, Earl of, 45, 131, 189, *note*, p. 226, 239, 272
Canto, Alonso del, 31, 33
Car, Andrew, of Fawsinside, 52, 54, 79
Carberry Hill, meeting of armies at, 260—2; surrender of Mary Stuart at, 164, 272
Carew, Captain, 48
Carlyle, Lord, *note*, p. 226
Carmichael, John, Lord, *note*, p. 146
Carmichael, Elizabeth, *note*, p. 146
Casket Letters, The, corroboration of deposition of Crawford in, 161; arguments for and against authenticity of, 163—5, 176—9; discovery of, 163, 334; repudiated by Mary, 164; psychological peculiarities of, 164; loss of, 165; text of, quoted in full, 166—75, 179—80, 182—3, 228—31; comparison of text with de Silva's account of, 176—7; early references to, 177; "sichting" of, 178, 278, 334; possible use of, by Scottish lords, 287
Cassilis, Earl, 185, 189, *note*, p. 226, 239, 327
Catherine de' Medici, Queen Mother of France, attitude to Mary, 5; Mary sends account of Riccio murder to, 44—6; sends Rambouillet to negotiate marriage between Elizabeth and Charles IX., 58; connexion with Catholic League, 58; exhortations of Pius V. to, 75; Scottish Privy Council consult about Mary and Darnley, 115—20, 127; Scottish Council report Mary's illness to, 125—6; Mary sends messages to, 131, *note*, p. 137, 206; interview with Beaton, 156—7; Scottish Council report Darnley murder to, 188—9; Mary's desire for friendly relations with, 205—6; sends remonstration and warnings to Mary, 212; Du Croc reports marriage of Mary and Bothwell to, 241; Mary sends Dunblane with her excuses to, 244—6; Du Croc sends news of Mary besieged to, 255; intrigues for custody of James VI., 272; makes pretence of taking joint action with Elizabeth, 315—6; suspects Elizabeth of causing religious troubles in France, 315; Mary appeals for help to, 319—23; makes hollow promises to Mary, 320; troubles with rebellious subjects, 320; insincerity between Elizabeth and, 334—6; begs Elizabeth's good offices for Mary, 335—6. Letters to, 45—6, 115—20,

Catherine de' Medici—*continued.* 188—9, 241—2, 315—6, 319—23. Letter from, 335—6
Catholic League, the, 58—9
Cecil, William, Lord Burghley, messages to, concerning Scottish affairs, 2, 7—9, 11—15, 34—5, 37, *note*, p. 66—8, 84—6, 90—1, 111—12, 123—4, 135—6, 150—3, 187, 202—4, 212, 215—17, 220—2, 225, 227, 235—6, 238, 241, 243, 252—5, *note*, p. 260; 263—4, 273—4, 277, 304—5, 312—3, 315, 317—9; appeal of Randolph to for Scottish rebels, 7—8; helps to promote enmity between Elizabeth and Leicester, 18; dislike of Leicester, 19; negotiations for marriage of Elizabeth, 21—3; protests loyalty to Elizabeth, 23; rumoured interview with Elizabeth and Murray, 28; advised of plot to murder Riccio, 37—41; advised and warned of Catholic League, 58—60; fears success of Leicester's suit, 63; Sir James Melville in pay of, 67; Morton's appeal to, 73—4; announces birth of James VI. to Elizabeth, 80; keeps spies in Mary's court, 82, 334; dealings with Rokesby, 86—90; Elizabeth visits at Stamford, 91; discusses suit of Archduke with Guzman de Silva, 92—5; seconds motion for subsidies to Elizabeth, *note*, p. 99; marginal notes by on Casket Letters, *note*, p. 174; *note*, p. 183, 228; entries in journal of, 183—4, 202; gives Guzman news of Darnley murder, 195—6; describes reception of news of Darnley murder by Lady Lennox, *note*, p. 197; writes letter for Elizabeth to Mary, 265; advised by Guzman, 271—2; advised by Throckmorton, 277; discusses Mary's position with Elizabeth, 297—8; advice to Elizabeth concerning Mary, 334; first knowledge of Casket Letters, 334; Middlemore describes interview with Mary to, 343; Knollys describes Mary in letter to, 346—7. Letters to, 7—8, 11—15, 35—41, 73—4, 84—90, 123—4, 202—3, 215—6, 220—2, 235—6, 312—3, 317—9. Letters from, 22—3, 297—8
Cecil, Lady, 197
Cessford, Laird of, 136
Chambers, David, 112, 114, 204
Chambery, Marquis of, 146
Charles IX., King of France, negotiations for marriage with Mary broken off, 1; helps Mary to obtain papal authority for marriage to Darnley, 3; negotiations for marriage with Elizabeth, 21, 58; personal appearance praised, 58; advice of Pius V. to, 60; Mary boasts of friendship with, 66; requires Elizabeth not to favour Scottish rebels, 72; asked to stand sponsor to James VI., 79; consents to stand sponsor, 81, 146; intrigue with Tyrone, 82; Darnley's complaints of Mary to, 134; James VI. named after, 144; instructions to Du Croc, 145; sends representative to James VI.'s christening, 146; gifts to Mary at christening, 148—9; boasts that he will set Mary free and obtain custody of James VI., 270; intrigue with Murray for custody of James VI., 270—2; religious troubles in France, 316; appeals from Mary to, 319, 322, 326; makes peace with rebels, 321; dispatches Montmorin to Elizabeth, 335—6; belief of Mary in good faith of, 338. Letters to, 45—6, 99—103, 255—63
Charles, Archduke, negotiations for marriage to Mary finally broken off, 1; negotiations for marriage to Elizabeth,

Charles, Archduke—*continued.* 18, 21, 63—6, 80, 92—5, 97—8, 107; question of household in England, 63—4; questions of religion raised, 94—5; favourable reports of manner and appearance of, 94; delayed in proposed coming to England by wars, 95
Châtelherault, Duke of, 2, 36, 275, 284, 325
Cladre, Captain, 258
Clarnault, Seigneur de, 189, 206; report of, 190
Cockburn, Captain, 11, 13
Coligny, Admiral de, 321
Condé, Prince de, 321
Confederate Lords, letter from, 278—83
Correr, Giovanni, 271. Letters from, 194—5, 324—6
Corrichie, rising at, 12, 112
Craig, John, 236—8, 276
Craigmillar Castle, conference at, 138, 142—3, 199
Crawford, Earl of, 84, 242
Crawford, Thomas, 160—1, 180; deposition of, 161—3, *note*, p. 168, 178
Croc, M. du, 114, 117, 119, 125—8, 131—3, 135, 143, 177, 239, 243, *note*, p. 256, 272. Letters from, 121—3, 128, 143—5, 241—2, 255—62
Cullen, James, 240
Cumberland, Earl of, 88
Cunningham, Robert, 160, 166, 222

Dalgleish, George, 112, 179
Dalton, Mr., 108—9
Danett, Thomas, 94 and *note*, 95, 97
Darington, Nicholas, 317
Darnley, Lord, *see* Stuart, Henry
Derby, Earl of, 88
Douglas, Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, 73
Douglas, Archibald, 158. Letter from, 158—60
Douglas, Sir George, of Pittendriech, 73
Douglas, George, of Lochleven, *note*, p. 275, 316—9, 322—3, 327
Douglas, George, 48—9, 152, 158, 316
Douglas, Sir Robert, Laird of Lochleven, 268, 307, 317—8, 323, 327
Douglas, Lady Robert, 113, 264, 323
Douglas, William, of Lochleven, 323
Douglas, William, of Whittingham, 158—9
Drumlanrig, Laird of, 55
Drummond, Lord, 153, 239
Drury, Robert, 157, 187
Drury, Sir William, Marshal and Deputy Governor of Berwick, 35. Letters from, reporting:—dissolute habits of Darnley, 35—6; jars between Mary and Darnley, 36; messages to Mary from Continent, 187; alleged counterfeit mourning of Mary, 202; reprimands of Catherine de' Medici to Mary, 212; offers from Murray to Mary, 216; the intrigues before Bothwell's trial, 216—7, 220—1; Bothwell's trial, 222; happenings in Edinburgh after trial, 225; rumoured plots to poison James VI., 227; Mary and abduction scheme, 232; disputes between Mary and nobles, 238; trouble between Bothwell and Mary, 240—1; marriage and changed appearance of Mary, 241; doings of and relations between Mary and Bothwell after marriage, 243; need of Mary for money, economies, and the breaking up of golden font, 252—3; Lethington and his imprisonment, and dealings with Mary and Bothwell, 253—4; the challenge of lords to Bothwell, 254—5; apparel and behaviour of Mary at Carberry Hill, *note*, p. 260; destruction of documents concerning Darnley murder, *note*, p. 262, 317; the popular hatred of Mary, 263; Mary at Lochleven

Drury, Sir William—*continued.*
and her dealings with the Hamiltons, 264, 315; rumoured relations between George Douglas and Mary, 317, 319; relations of Mary with Murray, and plans for re-marriage, 317—8; frustrated escape of Mary, and further plans to obtain liberty, 318—9
Dudley, Robert, Earl of Leicester, indifference towards Mary, 1; Randolph confides Scottish affairs to, 16—17, 37—8, 78, 251; rivalry for favour of Elizabeth with Heneage, 17; quarrels with Heneage, 18—20, 22—3; flirts with Lady Hereford, 19; later marriage to, 19; quarrels with Elizabeth, 18—20, restored to favour, 19—20; policy regarding suit of Archduke Charles, 21, 93; enmity towards Norfolk, Suffolk and Sussex, 21—3; relations with Throckmorton, 23, 288, 291—2; favour at Court, 23—4; possibilities of marriage to Elizabeth, 23—4, 63—5, 93; rumoured advocation of Princess Cecilia for, 24; pushes suit for hand of Elizabeth, 63—4; further quarrels and reconciliation with Elizabeth, 64; scandal regarding relations with Elizabeth, 65; sends letter to Murray, 84; conversation with Elizabeth regarding succession question and marriage, 103; consults Guzman regarding custody of James VI., 247; converses with Elizabeth regarding Mary, 298; favourable towards cause of Mary, 300. Letters to, 16—17, 251, 270—1
Dumbarton, Fortress of, 326
Dun, Laird of, 290
Dunbar, flight of Darnley and Mary to, 44—6; flight of Bothwell and Mary to, 254—6; escape of Bothwell to, 362
Dunblane, Bishop of, 3, 4, 60, 74—6, 193, 232, 241—2, 244—5 and *note*
Durham, Bishop of, 101

Edinburgh, Treaty of, 147
Edmundston, James, 240
Eglinton, Earl of, 155, *note*, p. 226, 239, 327
Eliot, John, of Park, 123, 124
Elizabeth, Queen of England, predestined virginity of, 1; messages to Mary after Darnley marriage, 2; description of Darnley, 3; policy towards Mary and rebel Scots, 5, 7, 9—10, 13, 22, 25, 28—9, 57, 60—1, 67, 71—4, 76; religious opinions, 5; advised by Randolph, 8; opinion on relations of Mary and Riccio, 9; appeal from Scottish Protestant lords to, 9; threatened by Mary, 12—13, 57; embassy of Mauvissière to, 13; calumny of Bothwell against, 13—14; Mary suspicious of, 14; transfers favours from Leicester to Heneage, 17—20; restores Leicester to favour, 19—20; annoyance at marriage of Lady Mary Grey, 20—21; commits her to Tower, 21; endeavours of Council to arrange marriage for, 21; communication to Maximilian II., 21; negotiations for marriage to Archduke Charles, 21—2; to Charles IX., 21, 22, 58; possibilities of Leicester marriage revived, 22—3, 63—5; suit of Eric of Sweden for hand of, renewed, 23; devotion of Cecil to, 23; embassy of Princess Cecilia of Baden to, 23—4; royal reception and friendship for Princess Cecilia, 24; interview with and public rebuke of Murray, 25—8; appeals of Murray to, 28—9, 69; professes friendship for Mary, 29; intercession of Darnley

Elizabeth—*continued.*
with, for his mother and himself, 39—40; remonstrations of Mary with, 56—8; illness of, at Greenwich, 58; comments of Guzman on age and appearance of, 58; interview with Rambouillet, 58; troubled by rumours of Catholic League, 58; sends friendly messages to Mary, 59, 67—9, 76; plots against throne of, 59—60; rumoured fears and jealousy of James VI., 61, 196; procrastination in negotiations for marriage to Archduke Charles, 63—5, 72, 93—5; discussions with Guzman, 63—6, 69, 94; his opinion of, 63—4; flirts with Ormond, 64; quarrels with Leicester, and restores him to favour, 64; scandal regarding relations with Leicester, 65; remarks of, on subject of Riccio murder, 65—7; warns Darnley and Murray, 67—8; gratitude of Mary to, 70—1; appeal of Morton to, 73—4; receives offers of aid from Argyll, 74; troubles in Ireland, 74, 82—3, 86; advice to Morton, 74; suspected of designs on Mary by Pius V., 75; interview with Melville and strange reception of news of birth of James VI., 80—1; consents to stand godmother to James VI., 80—1; appointment of proxies and presentation of golden font for christening of James VI., 81, 146; distrusts Mary, 82, 91; sends Killigrew to protest friendship for Mary, 83; plots of Mary against, 88—90; knowledge of plots, 90; character of, 91; revisits Woodstock, 91—2; discusses Archduke Charles marriage with Guzman, 94—5, 97—8, 104; difficulties with Parliament, 95—107, 109, 136; quarrels with Norfolk, 103—4; discusses difficulties with Guzman, 104, 106; instructions to Bedford, 146—8; expresses sorrow at murder of Darnley 197—8; condoles with Lady Lennox, 197 and *note*, p. 198; expresses belief in Mary, 198; discusses murder of Darnley with Guzman, 198—9, 205; sends friendly warnings to Mary, 199—200, 219, 224; discusses custody of James VI. with Guzman, 205; replies to appeal from Lennox, 218; scandalised at abduction of Mary, 233—4; involved in intrigue for custody of James VI., 246—7; attitude towards Mary and Bothwell marriage, 250—1; vain endeavour of Bothwell to win friendship of, 252; sends Throckmorton to Scotland, 265; determines to aid Mary, 265; instructions to Throckmorton, 266—7, 269—70; fears regarding French intrigues in Scotland, 269—72; negotiations with Scottish lords, 277—83, 285, 288—304, 309—13; champions Mary's cause openly, 293, 297; visit of Murray to, 294; threatens war on Scotland, 297—8; discusses Scottish affairs with Guzman, 299—300; gratitude of Mary to, 308—9; defied by Scottish lords, 310—2; recalls Throckmorton, 312; discusses joint action with Catherine de' Medici, 315—6; hatred and suspicion of Catherine, 315, 336; appeal of Mary for protection to, 329—33; awkward predicament of, caused by coming of Mary into England, 333—5; probable date of first knowledge of Casket Letters, 334; assures Catherine de' Medici of good faith towards Mary, 336; treatment of Mary in England, 337—47; reproaches of Mary to, 337

Elizabeth—*continued.*
—8, 340—1, 343—6; forbids Mary to send messages to France, 341; temporises with Mary and Murray, 341—3; dissembling methods of, 347; fears influence of Mary over English Catholics, 347. Letters to, 12—13, 28—9, 56—8, 67—8, 70—1, 252, 267—9, 275—7, 284—7, 289—91, 298—9, 301—3, 305—12, 329—33, 335—41, 343—6. Letters from, 10, 72—3, 83, 199—200, 219, 265, 269—70, 315—16, 342—3
Ennermeth, Lord, 239
Eric, King of Sweden, 23—4
Erskine, Arthur, 42, 45, 52—3
Erskine, Lord, *see* Mar, Earl of
Essex, Countess of, 18, 19
Ewes, Sir Symonds d', "Journals," 96, *note*, p. 99, *note*, p. 100

Fenelon, La Motte, 98—9, *note*, p. 100. Letter from, 99—103
Fitch, W. S., 234, 251
Fleming, Dr. Hay, 28, 113, *note*, p. 137, *note*, p. 226
Fleming, Lord, 36, 43, 190, 273, 341
Florence, Duke of, 66
Flyske, parson of, *see* Balfour, James
Foix, Paul de, 9, 35
Forbeash, Duncombe, 304
Forbes, Arthur, *see* Reres
Forster, Sir John, 72, 112, 136, 150, 217. Letter to, 72—3
Fotheringhay, death of Mary at, 305
Francis II., King of France, 227, 286
Francis, Signor, 211
Fraser, Sir William, "Memorials of the Earls of Haddington," 327
Frederic II., King of Denmark, 314

Galloway, Bishop of, 190
Genealogist, The, 1900—1, *note*, p. 226
Glammis, Lord, 239
Glencairn, Alexander, Earl of, 27, 39, 45—7, 53, 67, *note*, p. 226, 239, 267, 276, 284, 301, 313, 327, 332
Gonnoir, M. de, 207
Gordon, Lord, *see* Huntly, fifth Earl of
Gordon, John, 112
Gordon, Lady Jane, 112
Gowrie, Earl of, 165
Graham, Earl of, 327
Grange, Kirkcaldy of, *see* Kirkcaldy
Gray, Lord, *note*, p. 226, 239
Grey, Lady Catherine, *see* Hertford, Countess of
Grey, Lady Jane, *note*, p. 21
Grey, Lady Mary, 20—1 and *note*
Grey, Lord, 201
Guise, Madame the Dowager de, 79, 274
Guyn, Henry, 84, 86

Haliburton, James, of Pitcur, *note*, p. 39
Hamilton Family, The, 166, 264, 269, 274, 276, 302—5, 311, 322—3, 327—8
Hamilton, Lord, 328
Hamilton, Claude, 323
Hamilton, Sir James, 166, 171
Hamilton, James, of Ormiston, 323
Hamilton, John, Archbishop of St. Andrews, 45, 151—2, 189, 286, 303—4, 325—8
Hamilton, John, 304
Hatton, Mr., 150—1
Hay, Captain, 132, 144
Hay, Alexander, 190
Hay, Father Edmund, 296—7
Henderson, Mr., "Casket Letters," 164—5, *note*, p. 170, *note*, p. 174, 178
Heneage, Sir Thomas, 17—20, 22
Henry VIII., 73, 271
Hepburn, James, Earl of Bothwell, Duke of Orkney, returns to Scotland, 8, 11; joy at downfall of Murray, 10; escapes from Wilson, 11; forgiven by Mary, 11; estates restored, 11; cause of strife between Mary and Darnley, 11, 13, 15; estimate of, by Randolph, 12;

Hepburn, James—*continued.*
old calumny against Mary and Elizabeth, 13—14; increasing influence of, 13—14, 85, 89, 111; hatred of England, 13, 250; enmity with Murray, 18, 76, 111—12, 222; in charge of Border, 24—5; infatuation of Mary for, 34, 76, 226, 263, 308; masterful personality of, 34, 113; accused as traitor, 43; escapes after Riccio murder, 43, 51; aids Mary to escape after Riccio murder, 44—5; follows Mary to Dunbar, 53; religious beliefs of, 59; appointed captain of body-guard, 61; Lethington estates transferred to, 69; controversy with Atholl, 69—70; uses influence for Morton, 74, 85, 152; temporary reconciliations with Murray, 76, 112; appointed among guardians of James VI. in testament of Mary, 77; at enmity with Scottish nobles, 85, 111; accompanies Mary on hunting expedition, 111; alleged guilty relations with Mary, 112—15, 153, 164, 202, 286; marriage of, 112; venomous accusations of Buchanan against, 112—15, 124, 133, 135, 153, 180—1, 184—6, 201—2; moral unworthiness of, 113; dealings with Chambers, 114; goes to Liddesdale, 123; dangerously wounded at, 124; visited by Mary at, 124—5; anxiety during illness of Mary, 133; accompanies Mary on tour of border, 135—6; at conference at Craigmillar Castle, 138, 140—2; given charge of christening arrangements, 150; divorces Lady Bothwell, 151, 216, 222—4, 227, 230, 234—5; uses influence for Riccio murderers, 152; spends Christmas with Mary, 153; relations with Archibald Douglas, 158—60; downfall of, 176; alleged arranging of Darnley murder with Mary, 176—7, 179—87; connexion with band for murder of Darnley, 190—1; suspected and accused of murder, 191, 205, 211, 217, 222—3, 242; plots against, 192; Bishop of Mondovi on, 192—3, 249; treatment of accusers, 204—5; Mary continues favours to, 214—15, 222, 224, 227; early rumours of marriage to Mary, 216; description of, by Throckmorton, 220; behaviour before trial, 221—2; trial and acquittal of, 222, 224—5; challenges accusers, 225; gives supper at Ainslie Tavern and enforces signature of band, 225—6; abducts Mary, 226, 231—3; rumours of wish to secure James VI., 227, 233; alleged planning with Mary for abduction, 229, 247; enters Edinburgh with Mary captive, 235—6; defied by Craig, 236—7; lords unite to suppress, 238—40, 254—5, 269; created Duke of Orkney, 240, 246; domestic jars with Mary, 240—3, 253; marriage to Mary, 241, 246; rumoured relations with Lady Bothwell after divorce, 243, 281; treatment of Mary, 243; 245; Elizabeth's fears of, 250—1; attempts to win favour of Elizabeth, 252; quarrels with Lethington, 253—4; escapes to Dunbar, 254—5, 261 and *note*, *note*, p. 262; overthrow at Carberry Hill, 255, 261; challenged to single combat, 257; interview with Du Croc, 258—9; courage praised by Du Croc, 260; refusal of Mary to abandon, 268, 275—6, 285, 310—11; escapes to Orkney, 272—4; bids farewell to Mary, 272; attempts to stir up border, 273; execrated by confederate lords, 278—81; preached against

Hepburn, James—*continued.*
by Knox, 283; alleged doings at Spyny, 289—91; plots against life of, 289—90, 295; escapes from Scotland, 314; attainted of treason, 314; captured by Frederic II. of Denmark, 314; alleged madness of, 314; death of, 314; "Testament" of, regarded as a forgery, 314. Alleged letters to, 166—75, 179—80, 182—3, 228—31. Letter from, 252
Hepburn, John, of Bowton, 142, 240
Hepburn, Laird of Ricarton, 289, 323—4
Hepburn, parson of Oldhamstock, 221
Hepburn, Patrick, Bishop of Murray, 273 and *note*, 274, 289—90
Hereford, Lady, *see* Essex, Countess of
Herries, Lord, *note*, p. 226, 239, 304, 322, 324, 327—8, 330, 333, 337—8, 340—2, 345
Herries, "Memoirs," 78
Hertford, Earl of, 21, 97
Hertford, Countess of, 20—1 and *note*, 93, 96—7, 198
Hiegait, William, 154—5, 162, 168 and *note*, 169 and *note*, 171, 213
Holyrood Palace, Riccio murder at, 41—5, marriage of Mary and Bothwell in chapel of, 241
Howard, Lady, *note*, p. 197
Hubert, Nicholas, 165, 167, 179, 185, 190—1
Hume, Lord, 45, 135—6, 178, *note*, p. 226, 239, 255, 299, 301, 327, 332
Hume, Martin, "Love Affairs of Mary, Queen of Scots," 136, 157, 165, 317
Hunsden, Earl of, 22
Huntingdon, Earl of, 96
Huntly, fourth Earl of, 12
Huntly, George Gordon, fifth Earl of, 12, 43—5, 51, 53, 59, 77, 84—5, 125, 131, 135, 138—43, 158, 185—6, 190, 192, 202, 216, 222, 224—5, *note*, p. 226, 228—31, 235, 253—4, 273, 275, 286, 290, 302, 304, 322; protestation of, 138—41.

Inchkeith, Captain of, 272
Innermeath, Lord, *note*, p. 226

James II., 152
James V., 42, 146, 201
James VI., King of Scotland, birth of, 78; Mary's hopes for, 78; aspersions on paternity, 78 and *note*; descriptions of as a baby, 84, 86, 121; right to English succession, 61, 108; Elizabeth's reported fears and jealousy of, 61, 193; christening delayed, 110; lords pledge themselves to safe keeping, 131; alleged wish of Mary to do away with, 143; baptism of, 144—5, 148, 150; godparents of, 146; Pius V. blesses, 149; first proposals for coronation, 154; removed from Stirling to Edinburgh, 157; fears of smallpox for, 180; rumoured plot of Murray to obtain governorship, 193; at Holyrood with Bothwell and Huntly, 202; proposed appointment as Captain of Scots company in Paris, 205; Mary visits at Stirling, 226; in safe keeping with Mary, 227, 235, 240; rumoured plot to give up to Bothwell and poison, 227, 233, 235, 239; pledge of lords for safeguarding, 235, 239, 256, 304; further intention to crown, 238, 274, 277; French and English intrigues to obtain custody of, 246, 248, 269—72; Elizabeth promises safety of, 266, 311; Mary begs for the company of, 275; in danger from Bothwell, 279; Mary abdicates in favour of, 283—5, 291—2; coronation of, 288, 290—2; Murray's proclamation in name of, 326

Keys, Henry, 20—1
Killigrew, Henry, 82—5, 90, 110, 199, 203—5. Letters from, 84—6, 202—3
Kilwinning, Abbot of, 303—4
Kirk o' Field, journey of Mary Stuart and Darnley to, 180—1; plots against Darnley's life at, 182—4; murder of Darnley at, 186
Kirkcaldy of Grange, 39, 44, 85, 226—7, 231, 251, 261 and *note*, *note*, p. 262, 313—14, 327—8. Letters from, 227—8, 232—3, 238—40
Knollys, Sir Francis, 337, 339, *note*, p. 341, 346—7. Letters from, 337—41
Knox, John, bitterness against Mary, 2, 283; arrives in Edinburgh, 176; charge taken by John Craig in absence of, 236; interview with Throckmorton, 276; attitude towards, and arguments of against, Mary, 276; retires after Riccio murder to write "History of the Reformation," 283; returns to preach against Mary, 283; preaches on occasion of coronation of James VI., 290

La Forrest, 156, 177
Landores, Leslie, parson of Oune, 51
Lang, Andrew, "Mystery of Mary Stuart," 157, 165, 178, 181, 226—7; quotations from, 158, 191, 334
Langside, Battle of, 327—9
Lascelles, Christopher, 87—90
Laureo, Vincenzo, Bishop of Mondovi, 60, 62—3, 249—50. Letters from, 192—4, 249—50, 296—7
Law, Dr., "Cambridge Modern History," 59
Leith, Treaty of, 203
Lennox, Earl of, doings in West Country, 8; Darnley's wish to give command of border to, 11, 15; displeased at favour shown to Châtelherault, 36; plots against Mary, 37; banished from Court, 55; bequest to in Mary's will, 77; sends messages to Elizabeth, 85; reports guilty relations between Mary and Darnley in Lennox MSS., 112; accuses Chambers of participation in Darnley murder, 114; advises Mary of Darnley's plan to go abroad, 117, 119, 121—2; interview with Du Croc, 123; excuses himself to Mary, 160, 166; illness of, 161, 170, 174; rumours of proposed insurrection, 192—3; reported assassination of, 195 and *note*; demands vengeance on Darnley murderers, 203, 207—11; accusation of murderers, 211; alleges Mary's bestowal of Darnley's effects upon Bothwell, 215; appeal to Elizabeth, 216—17, 224; pleads illness to Mary, 217—18; accusation against Bothwell, 222; promises of Elizabeth to, 250; rejoins his wife in London, 250; appointed on provisionary committee for government of Scotland, 276, 284. Letters to, 181—2, 208, 210—12. Letters from, 207—11, 217—18
Lennox, Margaret, Countess of, right to English succession, 2; imprisoned in tower, *note*, p. 31; efforts to obtain release of, 31—2, 39; bequest of Mary to, 77; favoured by English nobility, 157; grief at Darnley's death, 197—8; taken to Sackville's house, 197; accusations and suspicions against Mary, 197—8; consoled by Elizabeth, 198—9; kept closely warded, 199; rumoured to have the bringing up of James VI., 246; anxiety to do so, 247; Elizabeth's promises to, 250; rejoined by Lennox, 250; restored to liberty, 250
Lesley, John, Bishop of Ross, 121, 133, 138, 170 and *note*, 190, 202. Letter from, 128—32

Leslie, parson of Oune, *see* Landores
Lethington, Laird of, *see* Maitland, William
Liddesdale, Border trouble at, 123
Lignerolles, M., 305, 309
Lindsay, Lord, 42, 48—9, 54, 67, 139—40, 157, 239, 261, 268, 283—5, 287—8, 291 and *note*, 307, 328
Livingstone, Lord, 43, 131, 158, 171—2, 190, 231
Lochleven, Laird of, *see* Douglas, Sir Robert
Lochleven, Lady of, *see* Douglas, Lady Robert
Lockleven, imprisonment of Mary Stuart at, 176, 255, 263; unsuccessful attempt to escape from, 318—19; flight from, 323—6, 333
Lorraine, Cardinal of, helps Mary to obtain papal authority for marriage with Darnley, 3; reported connexion with intrigue to make Mary Queen of England, 59; connexion with Catholic League, 60; advice to Mary, 60—2; suggestions to Pius V., 75; bequest of Mary to, 77; instructions from Lesley to, 132; complaint of Darnley against Mary to, 133; warns Mary of plots against her, 187; Mary dispatches Dunblane to, 244; Mary's appeals and protestations to, 326, *note*, p. 329, 346—7. Letter to, 79
Lothian, Superintendent of, 290
Lowther, Sir Richard, 336
Luss, Lord, 166, 171

MacGyll, James, 62, 67
Maitland, Sir Richard, 225
"Maitland's Narrative of the Principal Acts of the Regency," 234
Maitland, William, Laird of Lethington, displaced by Riccio, 16, 37; described as the "Cecil of Scotland," 16; suggests "striking at the root," 37; in plot to murder Riccio, 38, 40, 51, 69; interview with Mary, 53; retires into Atholl's domain, 54, 67, 69; reported to enter himself prisoner at Inverness, 54; friendship with Atholl, 55, 69; lands confiscated to Bothwell, 55, 69; Laureo suggests murder of, 62; Atholl intercedes for pardon of, 69—70; Bothwell's hatred of, 69—70, 85, 111—12; retires into Argyll, 85; Murray intercedes for, 111—12; restored to Mary's favour, 112, 115; temporary reconciliation with Bothwell, 112; Darnley's fears of, 115; reports illness of Mary to Beaton, 125—7; accompanies Mary on tour of border, 135—6; connexion with Craigmillar, 138—43, 199; alleged connexion with plot to murder Darnley, 141—2, 158—60, 191, 215; dealings with George Douglas, 159—60; reported as author or contriver of Casket Letters, 178; knowledge of Casket Letters, 178—9; helps to keep back Elizabeth's letter to Mary before Bothwell's trial, 221; captured by Bothwell at abduction of Mary, 231—2, 255; tells Du Croc of unhappiness in Bothwell marriage, 243; quarrels with Bothwell, 253—4; conflicting stories of actions after abduction, 253—4; escapes from Bothwell, 253; interview with Du Croc at Carberry Hill, 258; interview with Mary after Carberry Hill, 262 and *note*; interviews with Throckmorton and messages to Elizabeth, 267—8; advice to Throckmorton, 277; advises Mary to abdicate, 287—8; Throckmorton sends Rokesby to, 290; conflicting opinions on loyalty to Mary, 296—7; Elizabeth has confidence in, 297—8; warns Throckmorton against allies of Mary, 301, 303—4;

Maitland, William—*continued.*
replies to Elizabeth's advice and warning, 309—12; presses Throckmorton to accept presents from Scottish lords, 312—13; angry denunciations of Mary against, 327; accused of connexion with Darnley murder, 338. Letters from, 125—7
Mangerton, Laird of, 123
Mar, Earl of, 61—2, 84—5, 89, 110—11, 227, 233, 235—6, 239—40, 251, 255, 276, 284, 294, 301, 313, 327, 332
Mar, Countess of, 186, 301
Margaret, Queen Dowager of Scotland, 73
Marischal, Earl of, 45
Mary of Guise, Queen Regent of Scotland, 3, 5
Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, her marriage with Darnley and its immediate results, 1—3, 5—7, 16—17; vengeful attitude towards enemies, 3; receives advice and dispensation from Pius IV., 3—4; religious policy of, 5, 33; sends Yaxley to Philip II., 5—6, 30; need of money, 7, 11—12, 15, 74, 252; dealings with rebels, 7, 11—12, 24—8, 33, 61—2; bitterness against Murray, 8, 9, 14—15; relations with Riccio, 8—9, 15, 35, 38, 40, 48; recalls Bothwell, 10; forgives and restores estates to, 11, 13—14; at strife with Darnley, 11, 13—15; restores Huntly to favour, 12; defies Elizabeth, 12—13; love for Darnley cools and turns to hate, 13, 16, 34—7; old calumny of Bothwell against, 13—14; suspicions of Elizabeth, 14; loss of money sent by Philip II., 33, 74; refuses crown matrimonial to Darnley, 34, 36, 38; infatuation for Bothwell, 34, 76, 226, 263, 308; common sense of, 35; plots against 37—41; describes murder of Riccio and behaviour of Darnley and lords at, 42—6; fears for her own safety, 44—6; persuades Darnley to betray confederates and aid escape to Dunbar, 44—5; expels Randolph, 47; attempts to save Riccio, 49; interview with Darnley and Ruthven, 50 and *note*, 51; further interview with Darnley and lords, 52 and *note*, 53; flies to Dunbar, 53; returns to Edinburgh, 54; dealings with Riccio murderers, 53—5, 67; indomitable spirit of, 56; threatens Elizabeth, 56—8; alleged connexion with Catholic League, 58—60; rumoured ambitions to obtain English throne, 59—60, 88—91; consults Lorraine and sends Dunblane to Pius V., 60—1, 74; increasing troubles with Darnley, 61; failure of Laureo's mission to, 62—3; advised of Darnley's guilt in Riccio murder, 66—7; pardons Murray, 69; transfers Lethington estates to Bothwell, 69; expresses gratitude to Elizabeth, 70—1; pardons Morton, 74; receives financial aid from Pius V., 76; adopts policy of conciliation to enemies, 76—7; distribution of property, 77; interview with Darnley after birth of James VI., 78—9; despatches Melville to Elizabeth, requesting her to be godmother to James VI., 80; intrigue with Tyrone, 82, 89; suspicious of Elizabeth, 82, 90—1; rumoured encouragement of English Catholics, 82; treatment of Killigrew, 84, 86; health remarked upon, 84, 86; pedigree of claim to English throne, 87—8; interviews with Rokesby, 88—90; influence with English lords, 109; breach with Darnley widens, 110—12, 144—5, 153—4; venomous accusations of Buchanan against, 110,

Mary Stuart—*continued.*
112—15, 124, 133, 135, 143, 153, 180—1, 184—6, 201—4; takes part of Murray against Darnley, 111; restores Lethington to favour, 112; alleged guilty relations with Bothwell, 112—15, 153, 164, 202, 286; early training and character of, 113; endeavours to prevent Darnley from going abroad, 115—23; good health and popularity of, 121—3; visit to Bothwell, 124; severe illness of, 125—33, 144; exemplary behaviour during illness praised, 129—31; exhortation to nobles and making of testament, 131; protests religious convictions, 133—4, 326; causes of illness, conflicting evidence, 134—6; makes tour of border, 135—6; interview with Forster, 136; raises question of rights to English succession, 136—8; at conference at Craigmillar Castle, 138—43; at baptism of James VI., 145, 150—1; receives congratulations and presents, 146—9; sends golden font to mint, 148, 253; restores and afterwards revokes jurisdiction to Archbishop Hamilton, 151; pardons Riccio murderers, 152; visits Drummond Castle, 153; increasing troubles with Darnley, 154—6; warned of plots, 156—7, 187; inconsistency of conduct prior to murder of Darnley, 157—8; conflicting evidence regarding knowledge of plot to murder Darnley, 157—65, 176—7, 192; supposed dealings with Douglas, 158; removes Darnley from Glasgow to Kirk o' Field, 160, 180, 196; meeting with servant of Lennox, 160—1; interview with Darnley quoted in Crawford's deposition, 161—3; the evidence of Casket Letters against, 163—4, 278, 294, 334; repudiation of letters, 164; evidence of infatuation for Bothwell in Casket Letters, 166, 169—75, 179, 182—3, 228—31; interviews with Darnley as detailed in Casket Letters, 167—70, 172—4, 179; imprisonment at Lochleven, 176, 255; alleged plot against Darnley, 182, 184; actions on night of Darnley murder, 186, 189—91, 194, 197; describes night of murder, 187—8; grief, real or assumed, after, 191, 195—6, 200, 203, 205; sends Melville to Elizabeth, 196, 201; suspected of murder, 197—8, 204; alleged doings at Seton, 201—2; temporises with Lennox, 203, 207—12; fails to exact justice on Darnley murderers, 204; appeals for money, 205—7; ignores advice and appeals to do justice, 212—14, 219; continues to favour Bothwell, 214—5; rumours of marriage to, 216, 224—5, 227, 233; appeals to Elizabeth, 216; regrets departure of Murray, 222; abduction by Bothwell, 226, 231—3; rumoured intent to poison James VI., 227; alleged connivance in abduction scheme, 226—8, 232—3; evidence of connivance in Casket Letters, 228—31; sends to Edinburgh for help, 235—6; enters Edinburgh with Bothwell, 235—6; commands to John Craig 236—7; revolt of lords against, 238—40, 254—62; advised by Du Croc, 239; creates Bothwell Duke of Orkney, 241, 246; changed appearance remarked upon, 241; interviews with Du Croc, 241—2, 258, 260; justifies her marriage, 244—5; sends Dunblane to France, 244—5; abandoned by friends abroad, 245—6,

Mary Stuart—*continued.*
250, 293, 297; opinions of the world on marriage to Bothwell, 248—51; sends Melville again to Elizabeth, 252; goes to Borthwick Castle, 252; intervenes on behalf of Lethington, 254; suspicions of Huntly, 254; besieged at Borthwick Castle 254—5; follows Bothwell to Dunbar, 255—6; Carberry Hill, 255—62; discovers treachery of troops, 261; temporises with rebel lords and aids Bothwell to escape, 261 and *note*, *note*, p. 262; surrenders to rebel lords, 262, 272; interview with Lethington, 262; conveyed to Lochleven, 263; despair in prison, 264; courage revived by rumours of rescue, 264; fascinates Ruthven, 265; receives promises of aid from Elizabeth, 265—7; health in prison, 268, 274, 309, 315; rumoured plan of proposed Hamilton marriage for, 269; first attempts to escape, 274, 318—9; in danger of her life, 274, 276—7, 288, 291—2, 301—2, 305; her reasons for refusal to abandon Bothwell, 275—6; rumours of children born to during imprisonment, *note*, p. 275; offers to rebel lords, 275; hatred of Knox against, 283; abdicates, 283—4, 287—8, 291 and *note*, 292; dealings with confederate lords, 284—8, 299; grateful to Elizabeth, 292, 308—9; championed by Elizabeth, 293, 297—8; attitude of Murray towards, 294—6; influences gaolers, 299, 314—15, 319; confined more closely, 300; fury of preachers and mob against, 301; treachery of her supporters, 301—5; further proposals for re-marriage of, 302—3, 317; opinion of Herries, 304; conference with Murray and lords, 305—8, 317—8; commits regency to Murray, 306; hopes of rescue, 314; wins love and allegiance of Douglas, 316—17; escapes from Lochleven, 317, 323—7; rumoured relations with Douglas, 317, 319; prefers Douglas to Methven as suitor, 317; appeals to Catherine de' Medici, 319—23; appeals to Charles IX. and Lorraine, 326; issues counterblast to Murray, 327; gathers army, 327; defeat at Langside, 328; flight from, 327—8; implores protection of Elizabeth, 329—33; crosses into England, 330; finds confidence in Elizabeth misplaced 334, 341; escorted to Carlisle Castle, 336—7; interviews with Scrope and Knollys, 337—41; bitter complaints against Elizabeth, 338, 341, 343; declares innocence, 339—40; is refused permission to send Fleming abroad, 341; protestations and remonstrances to Elizabeth, 343—6; confides troubles to Lorraine, 346—7; character and attitude towards the world and her enemies while at Carlisle, 346—7. Letters to, 3—4, 74—6, 83, 149, 156—60, 199—200, 209—11, 213—14, 217—19, 234, 265, 342—3. Letters from, 6, 12, 13, 42—6, 56—8, 70—1, 137—8, 154—6, 187—8, 206—8, 210—2, 244—5, 319—24, 329—33, 343—6. Alleged letters from, 166—75, 179—80, 182—3, 228—31

Mary Tudor, Queen of England, 5, 7, 30, 91, 108

Mauvissière, M., 13, 26—7, 64—5, 77

Maximilian II., 21, 58, 63—4, 93—5, 97—8

Maxwell, Master of, 85

Melville, Sir James, 9, 33, 67, 80, 84, 87—9, 231, 235, 242, 255; extracts from "Me-

Melville, Sir James—*continued.*
moirs," *note*, p. 52, 80, 180—1, 232, 243, 253, *note*, p. 261, 263, 323, 328
Melville, Robert, 9, 29, 67, 70, 137, 147, 196—7, 200—2, 252, 265, 275, 284—5, 287—8, 292, 314, 328, 334. Letters from, 67—8, 235—6
Methven, Lord, 317
Middlemore, Henry, 290, 341, 343
Minto, Laird of, 155, 162, 168
Monteith, Earl of, 327
Montmorin, Sieur de, 335—6
Montrose, Earl of, 235, 239
Moretta, M. de, 149, 192—5
Morton, Robert, fourth Earl of, connexion with band for Riccio murder, 38, 48; seals of chancellor removed from, 40; justification of Riccio murder, 40—1; participation in Riccio murder, 42; intent to hang Riccio frustrated, 49; interview with Mary, 52—3; betrayed by Darnley, 53—4, 152; murder of, advocated by Laureo, 62; departs in fear across the border, 67; advice to Murray, 68; desire of Mary for capture of, 71—2; advice of and lukewarm support of Elizabeth, 72—4, 267; ancestry and descent, 73; appeals to Elizabeth, 73—4; efforts of friends to procure pardon for, 85, 139—40, 152; pardoned by Mary, 152, 157; connexion with plot to murder Darnley, 158—60, 190—1; declaration of, *in re* Casket Letters, 164, 178—9, 278; custodian of Casket Letters, 165; alliance with Lennox, 192; restored to estates and titles, 225: signs Ainslie band, 226; takes part in convention of lords at Stirling, 235, 239; goes to Fife, 240; doubts Lethington's loyalty to Mary, 254; besieges Borthwick Castle, 255; accused of Darnley murder, *note*, p. 262, 338; nominated on committee of regency, 276, 284; takes coronation oath on behalf of James VI., 290; conference with Mary and lords at Lochleven, 305, 307; at interview of lords with Throckmorton, 313; rumoured proposal for Mary's hand, 317; in arms against Mary, 327; Mary endeavours to conciliate, 332. Letters from, 40—1, 73—4
Murray, Earl of, *see* Stuart, James
Murray, Countess of, 8, 285
Murray, James, of Tullibardine, 216, 240
Murray, Patrick Hepburn, Bishop of, *see* Hepburn, Patrick
Murray, Sir William, Laird of Tullibardine, 153, 235, 240, 261, 287, 301, 303

Nau, Claude, and references to "History of Mary Stuart," 129, 132, 134, 153, 157, 204, 233, 255, 265, 275, 287, 322, 324; extracts from, 5, 124—5, 128, 180, 190—1, 232, *notes*, pp. 261—2, 264, 319
Nelson, Thomas, 180
Nemours, Duke of, 272
Norfolk, Duke of, 21—3, 63, 88, 102—3
Norris, Sir Henry, *note*, p. 197
Northampton, Marquess of, 103
Northumberland, seventh Earl of, 33, 86, 88, 103

Ochiltree, Lord Andrew, 39 and *note*, 239, 284, 328
Ogilvie, Lord, *note*, p. 226
Oliphant, Lord, *note*, p. 226
O'Neill, Shane, Earl of Tyrone, *see* Tyrone, Earl of
Orkney, Bishop of, 241, 290
Ormiston, Black Laird of, 142, 191, 240
Ormond, Earl of, 64
Oxford, Visit of Elizabeth to, 91—3
Oyssel, M. d', 286

"Paris," *see* Hubert, Nicholas
Parma, Duchess of, 13

Pasquier, M., 315—16
Paussay, M. de la Roc, 35, 36
Pembroke, Earl of, 103, 298
Percy, Sir Henry, 86—7, 90
Philip II., King of Spain, dismisses idea of marriage between Mary and Don Carlos, 1; Mary appeals for help to, 5—7; Elizabeth attempts to hoodwink, 21—2; promises support and sends money to Mary, 29—33; instructions to Guzman, 32; advice to Mary and Darnley, 32; connexion with Catholic League, 58; rumoured connexion with plot to place Mary on English throne, 59; exhortation to, from Pius V., 75; reference to proposed marriage with Elizabeth, 94; favours marriage of Elizabeth to Archduke Charles, 97—8. Letters to, 6, 18—19, 63—6, 68—9, 81, 91—8, 103—7; 133—4, 153—4, 176—7, 195—9, 205, 222—5, 233, 246—7, 249, 271—2, 294—6, 300—1. Letter from, 30—3
Pius IV., 3, 58. Letter from, 3—4
Pius V., 59—60, 74, 76, 89, 133—4, 149, 250, 297. Letters from, 74—6, 149
Pollard, Professor, "Political History of England," 35
Pollen, Father, 3, *note*, p. 194, "Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots," 5, 59, 62
Powrie, William, 191
Privy Council, The, letter from, 25—8

Rambouillet, M., 58
Randam, M. de, 286
Randolph, Sir Thomas, hopes for dissension in Scotland, 2; remarks on changed appearance of Mary, 3; despair at plight of rebels, 7; informs Cecil of Scottish affairs, 7—9, 11—15, 34—5, 37—9; begs help for rebels, 8; hints of guilty relations between Mary and Riccio, 8—9, 14—15; reports Bothwell's return, 11—12; fears of, 13—14; endeavours to promote friendly relations between Elizabeth and Mary, 14; remarks on changes in Mary, 16—17; refers to Leicester as Lord Robert, 19; receives account of interviews with Murray from Elizabeth, 29; remarks on troubles between Mary and Darnley, 34—5, 37—9, 67; foretells Riccio murder, 37; sends bond between Darnley and lords to Cecil, 39; expelled from Scotland, 47; sends account of Riccio murder to Elizabeth's Council, 48—56; retails scandal concerning paternity of James VI., 78; interview with Elizabeth, 251; suspects Lethington of treachery to Mary, 254. Letters from, 7—8, 11—17, 37—9, 48—56, 251
Read, John, *note*, p. 226
Reres, Arthur Forbes, of, 112
Reres, Lady, 112—13, 163, 172, 174—5
Riccio, David, alleged guilty relations with Mary, 8, 9, 35, 40, 48; hated by Murray, 9; character of, 15—16; influence with Mary and her use of him as secretary, 15—16, 35; hated by Scottish nobles, 16, 40—1; jealousy and suspicions of Darnley for, 35, 38, 40, 48, *note*, p. 50; murder of, predicted, 37; plot for murder of, 37—41; varying accounts of murder of, 41—3; Darnley disclaims guilt in murder of, 46—7, 49—50, 66, 77; Mary swears revenge for, 56; Ruthven's part in murder of, 61, 72, 265; Elizabeth remarks on murder of, 65; alleged as father of James VI., 78 and *note*; interest of Murray in murder of, 139; pardon extended to murderers of, 152; murder of, a cause of estrange-

Ricco, David—*continued.*
ment between Mary and Darnley, 198; alleged burial of, in tomb of James V., 201
Riccio, Joseph, 77—8, 167, 171, 183, 211
Rogers, Sir Edward, 99 and *note*
Rokesby, Anthony, 289, 291
Rokesby, Christopher, 82—4, 86, 90, 289—90. Letter from, 86—90
Ross, John Leslie, Bishop of, *see* Leslie, John
Ross, Lord of Halkhead, *note*, p. 226
Rothes, Andrew, Earl of, 39 and *note*, 44—5, 47—8, 53, 67, 131, *note*, p. 226, 327
Ruthven, Alexander, 78 and *note*
Ruthven, John, third Earl of Gowrie, *note*, p. 78
Ruthven, Lord Patrick, 38, 40, 42—3, 48—54, 56, 61, 66—8, 72, 74, 78, 139—40, 152, 157, 239, 265, 287, 291, 301, 307, 328. Letter from, 40—1
Ruthven, Lord, son of foregoing lord, 54, 265, 268

Sackville, Sir Thomas, 197
St. Andrews, Archbishop of, *see* Hamilton, John
Salisbury, Bishop of, 92
Savoy, Duke of, 58, 81, 146, 149, 192, 194
Scrope, Lord H., 123—4, 337, 340, 346. Letters from, 123—4, 337—40
Sempill, Lord, 48, 53, 178, *note*, p. 226, 284, 301, 332
Seton, controversial accounts of visit of Mary to and doings at, 201—2; flight of Bothwell and Mary to, 256
Seton, Lord, 131, 185, 202, *note*, p. 226, 272, 322—5
Shrewsbury, Earl of, 24, 88
Silva, Don Diego Guzman de, Dean of Toledo, Spanish Ambassador in England, praises appearance of Viscountess Hereford, 18; informed of secret interview between Elizabeth, Cecil and Murray, 28; instructions to, 31—3; remarks upon health and appearance of Elizabeth, 58; on her vanity, 63; discusses marriage to Archduke Charles with, 63—4, 94—5, 97, 104; suspects Elizabeth and Leicester of trickery, 64; remarks on clever policy of Elizabeth, 64; retails French scandal against, 65; discusses murder of Riccio with, 65—9; gives evidence of Murray's loyalty to friends, 68—9; interview with Melville, 81; describes visit of Elizabeth to Oxford, 91—2; negotiations for marriage of Elizabeth and Archduke Charles, 92—5, 97—8; interview with Cecil, 93—4; discusses succession question and finance with Elizabeth, 96—8; 104, 106—7; interview with Sussex, 97—8, 104; describes dealings of Elizabeth with Parliament, 105—7; believes Elizabeth won for Archduke Charles, 107; opinion of the French, 134; deplores relations between Mary and Darnley, 153; interview with and advice to Murray, 176—7, 192; first hears of Casket Letters, 176—7; alleged warning to Mary, 187; account of Darnley murder, 195—7; further interviews with Melville, 196—8; discusses Mary and Darnley murder with Elizabeth, 199, 205, 250; advice to Elizabeth, 198—9, 299—300; praises her treatment of Lady Lennox, 198—9; advises bringing of James VI. to England, 205, 247; further interviews with Murray, 223—4, 294—6, 300, 334; questions Murray about Bothwell divorce, 223—4; opinion on, 224; inaccurate account of Bothwell trial, 224—5; interview with Mary's confessor, *note*, p. 226, 249, 296; appeal of Lady Lennox to, 246—7; advice

Silva, Guzman de—*continued.*
and warning to Cecil, 271; advice to Murray, 295; expresses suspicions of Murray's good faith towards Mary, 295—6, 300; fears renewed alliance between France and Scotland, 299; interview with Leicester, 300. Letter to, 30—3. Letters from, 18—19, 63—6, 68—9, 81, 91—8, 103—7, 133—4, 153—4, 176—7, 195—9, 205, 222—5, 233, 246—7, 249, 271—2, 294—6, 300—1
Sinclair, Lord, *note*, p. 226
Small, Mr., "Queen Mary at Jedburgh," 134, 135
Smith, Sir Thomas, 16, 19—22, 24, 59. Letters to, 22—3, 25—8
Somervell, Lord, 131
Spens, John, 211
Spottiswoode, Archbishop, 56
Stanley, Sir Thomas, 88—9
Stevenson, Father, 191, 204
Stirling, Baptism of James at, 144—5; convention of Scottish lords at, 238—9
Stirling, Lord of, 221
Stuart, Henry, Lord Darnley, Earl of Arran, titular King of Scotland, unfortunate marriage to Mary, 1; descent and right to English succession, 2; enmity towards Murray, 2; proclaimed King of Scotland, 2, 3; approved by Pius IV., 3; assurances of support of Catholic religion, 5; quarrels with Mary, 11, 13—15; vanity and inexperience of 13, 15; vicious habits and incompetence of, 16—17, 34—6 and *note;* hopes of English succession, 30; refused the Crown matrimonial, 34, 38; suspicious and jealous of Riccio, 34—5, 37—8, 48; further quarrels with Mary, 34—7, 61; plots against Riccio, 37—41, 49, 61, 66; intrigues to obtain Crown matrimonial, 37—40, 44, 49, 61; signs articles, 40; betrays confederates, 40, 45—7, 53—4, 66—7; share in murder of Riccio, 42, 49; remits offences of exiled lords, 43, 46; persuaded to go to Dunbar, 44—5, 56; declares innocence of Riccio murder, 46—7, 66, 77; interviews with Mary, after murder, 50 and *note*, 51—2; rumoured plots to obtain Crown of England, 59; character of, 61; policy towards lords, 61—2; criticism of actions, 66—7; advised and warned by Elizabeth, 68; Mary attempts to conciliate, 76—7; bequests to, from Mary, 77; omitted from list of governors of realm and James VI., 77; interview with Mary after birth of James VI., 78—9; relations with Mary, 110—11, 144, 153—4; hates and fears Murray, 111; unworthy of Mary, 113; fears Lethington and exiles, 115; proposes to go abroad, 115; interview with Mary and lords regarding flight abroad 117—22; discusses plans with Du Croc, 121, 123, 144; sulks in Glasgow, 123, 128, 132; treatment of Mary causes her serious illness, 127, 134—6; conflicting account of behaviour to Mary during her illness, 128, 132—3, 135, 144; makes allegations against Mary, 134; Mary and lords in plot against, at Craigmillar, 139—43, 158—60; again proposes going abroad, 144—5; fails to attend baptism of James VI., 144, 150; fears Morton and retires to his father's house, 152; contracts smallpox, 152; rumoured plot to poison, 153; reconciled to Mary, 157; rumoured insulting message to Mary, 158; visited by Mary at Glasgow, 160; removed to Kirk o' Field, 160, 180; interviews with Mary as

Stuart, Henry—*continued.*
deposed by Crawford, 161--3; as given in Casket Letters, 167—74, 179; praises Mary and expresses confidence in, 181—2; varying accounts of murder of, 184—91, 193—7; conflicting accounts of burial of, 201; endeavours of Lennox to avenge death of, 207—12, 217—18; opinion of Murray on murder of, 223. Letters from, 79, 181—2
Stuart, James, Earl of Murray, bitterness between Mary and, 2, 8, 9; intrigues for Elizabeth's support, 5, 9; downfall of, 7, 10, 16, 24; suspicions of relations between Mary and Riccio, 8, 9, 14, 15; Bothwell's hatred of, 11, 13, 111—12, 222—3; Huntly's grudge against, 12; complains to Cecil of treatment from Elizabeth, 25; interview with Elizabeth, 25—8; reproaches Elizabeth, 28—9; connexion with Darnley's bond, 39—40; returns to Scotland and seeks pardon of Mary, 44—5, 51—2 and *note;* pardoned by Mary, 45—6, *note*, p. 52, 54, 61, 67—9; rumoured mischief-making of, 62; reported devotion to Mary and her cause, 66; begs favour of Elizabeth for his friends, 68; warned by Elizabeth, 68, 82, 341; uses influence to aid Morton, 74; temporary reconciliation with Bothwell, 76; bequests of Mary to, 77; entertains Killigrew, 84; position of in Scotland, 85—6; Darnley's hatred of, 111; favours of Mary to, 111; uses influence on behalf of Lethington, 111—12; alleged confession of Mary to, 113; reports Mary's illness to Beaton, 125; reported behaviour during Mary's illness, 128; promises to Mary, 131; makes tour of border with Mary, 135; connexion with Craigmillar conference, 138—43; alleged connexion with Darnley murder, 141; requests Mary to revoke Hamilton privileges, 151; helps to obtain pardon for Riccio murderers, 152; entertains Bedford, 153; dealings with Archibald Douglas, 158; discusses knowledge of Casket Letters with Guzman, 176—8, 294; alleged intervention in quarrel between Darnley and Robert Stuart, 184; alleged connexion with band for murder of Darnley, 141, 190—1, 195, *note*, p. 226; rumoured rebellion against Mary, 192; friendship with Elizabeth, 193; leaves Scotland for continent, 215; craves safe conduct of Elizabeth, 215—16; discussions with Guzman, 222—4, 294—6, 300—1; gives reasons for leaving Scotland, 215—23, 297; tenures of, ratified, 225; instructed to be ready to return to Scotland, 240; recalled to Scotland, 270—2; relations with French Court, 271—2, 294, 313; offered regency, 275, 284—5, 306; returns to Scotland, 294; visits Elizabeth, 294; conflicting opinions on attitude to Mary, 296—7, 300; rumoured plot to obtain throne of Scotland, 297; confidence of Elizabeth, 298—300; safeguards Mary's life, 301, 305, 309; welcomed in Edinburgh, 305; interviews with Mary at Lochleven, 305—9, 318; accepts regency and custody of Mary's jewels, 306—7; interviews with Throckmorton, 307—13; remarks on good health and spirits of Mary, 309, 315; fails to capture Bothwell, 313—14; demands Bothwell from King of Denmark, 314; tires of regency, 317; proposals for Mary's re-marriage, 317

Stuart, James—*continued.*
—19; dissatisfaction of lords with, 322, 328; attempted revolt against, 323; issues proclamation, 326; denunciations of Mary against, 327, 340; in arms against Mary, 327; victory at Langside, 327—9; sends Casket Letters to London, 334. Letters from, 28—9, 125
Stuart, Lord Robert, 42 and *note*, 157, 182—4
Suffolk, Duke of, 21, 63
Sunderland, Earl of, 11, 170
Sussex, Earl of, 18, 22—3, 97, 104
Sutherland, Earl of, 190, *note*, p. 226, 230—1

Tala, Laird of, 240
Tamworth, John, 2, 9
Throckmorton, Sir Nicholas, description of Bothwell, 220; sent to Scotland, 265; instructions of Elizabeth to, 266—7, 269—70, 297—8; refused admission to Mary, 267, 274—5, 285, 291—2; interviews with Lethington, 267, 277, 303—4, 309—13; opinion on Bothwell's prospects after Carberry, 273; fears for Mary's life, 274, 276—7, 288, 301; dealings with and advice to Mary in prison, 276, 287, 288; conference with Knox and Craig, 276; dealings with confederate lords, 278—83, 285, 309—13; fears Elizabeth's displeasure, 288; dealings with Rokesby, 289—90; means of saving life of Mary, 291—2; regrets inability to leave Edinburgh, 292; efforts to save Mary's life, 298—9; advocates divorce between Mary and Bothwell, 299; interview with Tullibardine, 301—3; dealings with Hamilton family, 304; suspicions of French intrigue, 305; interviews with Murray, 307—9, 311—3; recalled to England, 312; refuses presents from confederate lords, 313. Letters to, 269—70, 278—83, 297—8, 327—8. Letters from, 267—9, 273—5, 277, 284—7, 289—91, 298—9, 301—3, 305—13
Tiepoli, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, 60
Traquair, Laird of, 61
Trent, Council of, 59
Tullibardine, Laird of, *see* Murray, Sir William
Tyrone, Shane O'Neill, Earl of, 74, 82—4, *note*, p. 99

Venice, Signory of, 148—9. Letters to, 194—5, 324—6
Venetian Ambassador in Paris, The, 19. Letters from, 19—20, 148—9, 245—6
Von Raumer, 9, 102

Walker, William, 154—5, 169, and *note*, 213
Westmorland, Earl of, 88
Whitehaugh, Laird of, 124
Winchester, Bishop of, 101
Windsor, Lord, 92, 94
Wishart, John, of Pitarro, *note*, p. 39, 44
Withington, Countess of, 197
Wood, John, 334, 345. Letter from, 327—8
Wright, "Queen Elizabeth and Her Times," 47

Yaxley, Francis, 7, 29—33, 84
Yester, Lord, 45, 131, 327
York, Bishop of, 87, 101

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